#### POLITICAL REGISTER WEEKLY COBBETT'S

Vol. 71.—No. 12.]

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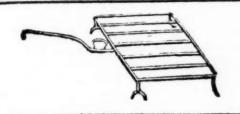
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r notice,

LONDON, SATURDAY, MARCH 19TH, 1831.

Price 1s. 2d.



# THE REFORM BILL.

TO THE

### HAMPSHIRE PARSONS.

Kensington, 15 March, 1831.

PARSONS,

I have often taxed my powers of invention to find out another name for you; some appellation more fully descriptive of what you deserve; but, after hunting about, backward and forward, I always come back again to "Hampshire Parsons," being able to find nothing, in all God's creation, to resemble the animal described by those two words. Well, then, Hampshire Parsons, do you NOW recollect your conduct in the month of March, in 1817? Do you recollect when you, on the eleventh day of that month, at Winchester, met in grand convocation to present an address to the Prince Regent, expressive of your approbation of the bills just then passed for shutting the reformers up in dungeons at the pleasure of Sidmouth and Castlereagh? Do you remember that, upon that occasion, you had that little dull fellow, WILLIS (now called FLEMING), for a High Sheriff? Do you remember your roaring insolence upon that occasion; and do you remember that Hollest, his Under Sheriff, had the audacity to threaten to take us into custody, if we remained upon the spot after Fleming had ordered us to depart? But, do you re-

shaken to their very foundation? Have you forgotten this, Hampshire Parsons? To be sure, it is now fourteen years since I gave you the warning, and you have the tithes, yet, in name, at least; but do you feel as if you had them? Do you feel as if you were going to have them to the end of your lives? As you are sitting over your bottles, and wiping the grease from the corners of your mouths, do you not muse a little, now and then, on the strange change that has taken place since I met you last in your grand convocation? Do you laugh at people who talk against pluralities and non-residents, as you used to do? Do you still belch out your insolent invectives against reform-Do you still wield the magisterial sword with the vigour and gaiety that you did fourteen years ago? Do you ever pick up a Jesse Burgess now-a-days to play off upon the country against any one whom you deem an enemy of your craft? Do you know what is become of the bevies of the tax-eaters, who went all over the country in carriages, scattering little tracts to calumniate me, in the years 1809 and 1810?

Leaving you to answer these questions at your leisure, let me express my hope that you will join us, the day after tomorrow, in thanking the King and his Ministers for the famous bill which they have now before the Parliament. Let me hope, that you who have always been for the powers that be; who have always praised the acts of the Government, be they what they might; who applauded it for twenty-two years of war and of waste; who have never found fault with any-thing done by any Parliament, at the instigation of any Ministry who were the servants of any King; let us hope that you will now dered us to depart? But, do you re- join us in praising this great measure member that, on that day, I warned you of Reform. If I find you not there, that, before that day ten years, your ready to join us, I, for my part, shall tithes and your church, and your every- call aloud for you. In the year before thing belonging to you, would be mentioned, you galloped from one end

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of the county to the other, to rake to- out of his office, and bereft of all power, gether a crew to carry an address, because, and only because, he had exapplauding the horrible bills which plicitly declared that he would make doomed the reformers to dungeons; no reform of the Parliament. It was and will you now hang back! Your the people that had driven him out; pretence then was, that the reformers mind that, Parsons: it was not the were disaffected, and that it was neces- Parliament. The Parliament liked him sary for you to come forward in sup- well; but it could not keep him and port of the King and his Ministers, carry on the thing quietly. The new Well, Parsons, and are not the borough- Ministry, therefore, were compelled, mongers now disaffected; are not the whatever might have been their in-BARINGS, the PEELS, the CROKERS, the clination, to promise a Parliamentary HORACE Twisses, now disaffected? reform. And to satisfy the people it Are they not now raising their violent required nothing short of a total devoices against the Ministers and the struction of the rotten boroughs, and a King; and is it not now your duty, great extension of the suffrage. It was then, to come forward in support of this not sufficient that the new Ministry Ministry and this King? If I find you promised a reform: it was necessary absent the day after to-morrow, I shall that the reform should be extensive and certainly think you the most inconsistent of men, and what I shall say of you not have saved the Ministry for a day. God only knows.

But, Parsons, you hardly imagine that this reform is to be productive of no consequences! You hardly suppose, I take it, that it is intended to produce no effects. If this be your notion, never were men more deceived in this whole world. It has been made because the Government could no longer go on without it. A reformed Parliament must, therefore, act differently from this borough Parliament. If the reform produce merely a change of men, it would be of no use whatever: but it will produce a very great change of another sort, and will thereby enable the Government to go on. In what manner and what degree that change will reach you, I leave you to settle amongst yourselves when you meet at your benches, whence you send poachers to dance on the tread-mill.

"While there is life there is hope;" and accordingly you, I dare say, entertain strong hopes that this fatal measure will not pass into a law. From the very first, it was evident to all men of sense, that this hope was groundless. The case was this. Before the Reform Bill was proposed, it was evident that always has been YES: and I have re the Ministry must propose a measure peatedly said in the Register, that that would satisfy the people, or be hoped and believed, that, at last, who driven from their posts. The Duke of the people were united and resolved

satisfactory. A trifling reform could They would have been in a worse situation than Louis-Philippe with his sham revolution. The people insisted upon 4 law a large and efficient reform.

The Ministers have now tendered The Ministers have now them such reform. In this reform they that they wanted. It is not precisely what many of us wished, them but it is quite enough to satisfy all reasonable men; and the people will have Now, then, Parsons, though I do not like to plunge you into despair, I ask you whether it is reasonable to suppose that this measure of reform is to be defeated in spite of King, Ministers, and people, all combined, and with nobody but the base boroughmongers to oppose

It is a question which has, I am sure been a thousand times put to me: "Can you possibly believe, Cobbett "that the Parliament will ever reform " itself? Did you ever know power " pronounce its own death? Can you "believe that those who sit for the "boroughs, will vote the destruction " of their own seats? And can you " expect a reform from any cause but " that of physical force?" My answe WELLINGTON had actually been driven the borough-holders would give way

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that some Minister or other would at last be found wise and honest enough to make the proposition; that the borough-holders would stand out stiffly; that they would die hard; but that when it came to the pinch, they would give way, and that thus the reform might be effected by a moral and not a physical

Nay, what is that which we now behold but the almost literal fulfilment of an opinion expressed and published by me in a very few days after the de- present King came to the throne, in the Register of the 17th of July, in a paswas sage which I will now quote. "Your "Majesty must clearly see that this " feebleness of the country arises from day. due representation to be restored? "promise too." situa- 4 'But,' some one will say, 'those who sham ", fill the seats now would not pass a upon ", law to do this.' Would not they! ished, them; then instantly call them toll reamerely send them a message in someh I do , I ask

what the following words:-"The King informs the House of "Commons [the same to the " Lords], that he has called them "together for one important pur-" pose, and for that purpose only. "Upon coming to the throne, he " finds, from a careful examination " into the state of his kingdom, " whether in its foreign relation-" ships or in its domestic concerns, "that there has been for many "years great mismanagement; " eyes of the world; and that his " people are in a state of ruin and " beggary, such as was never known " to their fathers. The King has " traced these sad and disgraceful " effects to the want of a full, free,

" recommends to the two Houses " to pass a law to enable the " people at large freely to choose "the members of the Commons " House, excluding from the right " of voting no man who has at-" tained the age of twenty-one, "who is of sane mind, and who " has not been legally convicted of " an infamous crime.

"Clap W. R. at the bottom of that, " and then we should see whether they would pass the law! Pass it! Aye " would they, and with double dilligence! They would, without a dis-" senting voice, thank you for your " gracious message, express their grati-" tude to you for the wise suggestions the want of a due representation of "contained in it, and promise to set "the people in Parliament. What have "about the work with all zeal and you to do, therefore, but to cause that "industry; and they would keep the

At the time when this was written. though little more than six months ago, dered them. I be seech, I pray, I implore them. I be seech, I pray, I implore what we now behold. The thing will be done well now: but it would have been done better by a message from the King; because then, there would have gether; make no speech to them, but been no doubts and no intrigues and no rumours upon the subject. There would have been none of this cavilling on the part of the borough-holders; all the ill blood would have been spared, and it would have been better for all parties.

To hope that the bill will not be carried, argues almost insanity. I always thought that the Ministers would propose a great measure of reform or go out without proposing any. If they proposed such reform I knew that they must carry it; and when I heard the nature of the reform described, which I heard before Lord John Russell "that the country has sunk in the had finished his speech, I gave it as my opinion that the bill would not only be brought in without a division; but that there never would be any division at all upon the principle of the bill; because, though I thought that there was a very great majority of the members "and fair representation of the opposed to the bill, I knew that, in the "people in the Commons House present circumstances of the country, " of Parliament; and, therefore, he and of Europe, few men would like to

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have their names down in everlasting print, as having voted against that which ninety-nine hundredths of the whole kingdom had prayed for. The Bloody Old Times newspaper has threatened the opponents of the bill with a publication of their names in RED ink. If any-thing would induce a gentleman to insist on having his name down in a division in a case like this, it would be such a bloody and brutal threat; but there needed no threats at all, other than the legal and resolute expression of the public opinion; and it is this expression, and this expression alone, that will have produced this great and salutary measure.

Lord Chatham said, more than fifty years ago, that, "if the House did not " reform itself from within, it would " be reformed from without with a " vengeance." It will be, to a certainty, reformed from without; but, happily for the country, not with a vengeance; but with gentleness, good-humour, moderation, and harmony, unparalleled. It certainly is what not one man out of fifty thousand ever expected to see; and, if the measure be carried into full effect, it will reflect honour indescriba ble on the character of the country; honour on the King and his Ministers; honour on a large part of the Parliament; but honour on the people beyond all description. Its enemies call it a revolution; so it is ten times as great and ten times as good as the revolution of 1688. Revolution means great change; and here is a great change; effected, too, without a single commotion; without confiscation of any sort; without punishment inflicted on any-body. No nation upon earth ever did a thing reflecting so much honour upon itself. It is clear to every one that knows how to calculate, that the people could demand a great deal more of the aristoerary than they are now demanding; but, as I have a thousand times said, deal frankly and liberally by them, and you have nothing to apprehend from their demands. This justice to the neopie has been delayed very long, to 12 sure: there would have been less caliculty in the sequel than there will rare, and punishment will, be efficied namely

be now, if the reform had taken place in 1817; but still it is now made in so frank and gracious a manner, that past refusals and past harsh treatment will be wholly forgotten by the nation at large. We shall do, I trust, as bickering families do, forget past grounds of animosity, except where the parties persevere in their malignity, and every man do his best to cause the nation to be restored to its former happy state.

It is impossible for the Ministers not to perceive that, when they meet a new and reformed Parliament, in which "treasury members," nominees of peers, members who run down to vote at the ringing of a bell; when they meet a Parliament in which all these will be unknown; when they meet a Parliament in which they can never command a majority; in which they must not expect always to have a majority; in which they are not to expect support from any cause except that of the wisdom or justice of their measures. When the Ministers meet a Parliament like this, their situation will be totally different from that in which they are now placed. They must see this; and, therefore, their having resolved to form such a Parliament is an indubitable proof of the Conesty of their intentions.

We shall soon see the manners of the Pai liament wholly changed; the hours of meeting will be hours of day. light; the attendance of all the Members will be regular; they will need no cook-shop, no drinking place, no smoking place, be neath the roof where their deliberations are held. The evil example of their lives will no longer be the cause of destriction to young men of fortune. Along vith "Bellamy's," the REA Club-Houses, and the Hells will dis appear: there will want no odious and rediculous law to prevent men from My F bringing either House of Parliament into contempt; both will become of the pr jects of respect with all m n of sense thing and the esteem of fools is hever wort 6 o'cle having. Accordingly, the laws will b great respected; crimes will b ecome more thing ILU1

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How monstrous is it, then, that any men, having the smallest pretensions to virtue, should not hail this measure with delight! If monstrous in other men, what must it be in men of your profession! This measure, if carried into full effect, must nearly put an end entirely to all that bribery, corruption, perjury, base lying, false and foul dealing, drunkenness, debauchery of the vilest kind, acts of violence, disturbance of the public peace, quarrelling, hatred, and malice amongst neighbours, amongst friends, brethren, parents, and children; all these, which spread themselves over the country at every election, leaving wounds half-healed to be torn open again at the succeeding contest; all these, which, at every step and at every breath, openly violate every principle of Christianity; and these are now to be banished from the land of which they have so long been the foul disgrace and the incessant curse; and yet do you, the teachers of that Christianity, mourn at the prospect of the

We shall see, on Thursday next, at Winchester! But, if I am to judge from what I behold in and near London, I shall now find you, at last, amongst the disaffected. Act as you will, however, you will, until you make atmement for your behaviour as to me, for your malignant acts against me, you will be most cordially detested by

WM. COBBETT.

TO THE

# y's," the READERS OF THE REGISTER.

Kensington, 16th March, 1831.

en from My FRIENDS,

rliamen I had written a long letter to you on come of the prospect now before us; but someof sense thing has just (Wednesday morning, er wort 6 o'clock) come to hand, which is a s will be great deal more valuable than any-me more thing that I am capable of writing; efficier namely, the REFORM BILL; the Bill Parliament for each of the said boroughs.

for its purpose, because men will ac- of Bills; the thing that we have been labouring for, for so many years. I here insert it. It has the merit of having no tautology in it, and is therefore short, compared to what a dunderheaded fellow would have made it.

> The speeches that you will find to come after the bill, I insert entire, as specimens of the talk on this memorable bill. They will amuse you, and, as I have mentioned them elsewhere, I insert them at full length, to obviate the charge of garbling.

> There, now, God bless you! This is a day of real joy for Old England. We shall once more see the labouring man with meat and bread, with a bed to lie on, and a linen shirt and a Sunday coat to wear. This, my friends, is what I have in view more than any other consequence of this great measure.

> > I am most faithfully yours,

WM. COBBETT.

A BILL TO AMEND THE REPRESEN-TATION OF THE PEOPLE IN ENG-LAND AND WALES.

[Note. - The words printed in Italics are proposed to be inserted in the Committee.]

Whereas it is expedient to take effectual measures for correcting divers abuses that have long prevailed in the choice of Members to serve in the Commons House of Parliament, to diminish the expense of elections, to deprive many inconsiderable places of the right of returning Members, to grant such privilege to large, populous, and wealthy towns; to increase the number of Knights of the Shire, and to extend the elective franchise to many of his Majesty's subjects who have not heretofore enjoyed the same. Be it enacted, by the King's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that the boroughs enumerated in schedule (A.) to this Act annexed, shall cease, after the end of this present Parliament, to return Members to serve in Parliament, and that no writ or precept shall be issued or sent to any of the said boroughs to return Members to serve in any future Parliament.

And be it enacted, that the boroughs encmerated in schedule (B.) to this Act annexed. shall, after the end of this present Parliament, return one Member and no more, to serve in

And be it enacted, that after the end of this present Parliament, the towns enumerated and described in schedule (C.) to this Act annexed, shall each return two Members to serve in Parliament; and that the towns enumerated in schedule (D.) to this Act annexed, shall each return one Member to serve in Parliament.

And be it enacted, that the towns of Weymouth and Melcombe Regis shall, for the purposes of this Act, be taken as one town; and shall, after the end of this present Parliament, return only two Members to serve in Parliament.

And be it enacted, that each of the towns of Portsmouth, Rochester, and Kingston-upon-Hull, shall, after the end of this present Parliament; return two Members to serve in Pacliament, jointly with the other places respectively, as described in schedule (E.) to this Act annexed.

And be it enacted, that after the end of this present Parliament, each of the places named in schedule (F.) to this Act annexed, shall have a share in the election of burgesses to serve in Parliament, for the shire, town, or borough to which such place is annexed in the said schedule (F.); and that every person having the right of voting in any of the said places previously to the passing of this Act, or acquiring such right by virtue of this Act. shall and may give his vote in respect thereof at the place in which he resides, before the Mayor or other chief officer of the place, who shall transmit the poli taken before him to the returning officer of the shire, town, or borough to which such place may be joined for the purposes of election.

And be it enacted, that no person shall, after the end of this present Parliament, have the right of voting at the election of Members to serve for the town of Carnarvon, in respect of any supposed right of voting in the place called Criccieth.

And be it enacted, that the fowns of Schaisea, Laugharne, Neath, Aberaven, and Ken Fig, shall, after the end of this present Parliament, for the purposes of this act, be taken as one borough, and shall return one Member to serve in Parliament; and no person, by reason of any right accruing in any of the places last named, shall have any vote in the election of Members for the borough of Cardiff; and that the votes shall in such elections be taken at the town or place within which the persons having the right of voting shall severally reside, by the Mayor, or other municipal officer of such town or place, who shall transmit the poll taken before him to the Pertreeve of Swansea, who shall be the returning officer for the said borough.

And be it enacted, that the persons described in the column of the said several schedules (C.) (D.) and (E.), shall be the persons to whom all writs and precepts shall, after the end of this present Parliament, be directed, and shall be the returning officers

And be it enacted, that after the end of for the elections of Members to serve in Par-

And he it enacted, that no person shall be entitled to vote at the election of a Knight of the Shire to serve in any future Parliament in respect of any house, by reason of the occupation whereof he or any other person shall be entitled to vote for any city or borough.

And be it enacted, that from and after the end of this present Parliament, every male person of full age and not subject to any legal incapacity, seized of and in any lands or tenements for an estate for life, or for any larger estate of at least the yearly value of ten pounds above reprises, holden by copy of Court roll of the Lord or Lady of any Manor, or by any customary tenure, and every person holding lands or tenements by lease for any term not less than years, whereon a yearly rent of not less than fifty pounds shall be reserved, shall have a right to vote in the election of Knights of the Shire in all future Parliaments: provided that no leaseholder shall enjoy such right by virtue of any lease renewable every year, or which shall have been renewed within two years preceding the registration to be made in manner hereinafter directed : provided always, that nothing hereinafter contained shall take away or in any manner affect the right of voting for Knights. of the Shire, at present enjoyed by any person, and which may hereafter accrue to any person, according to the laws now in force, in respect of freehold property, rent-charges, annuities, or any other right of voting now by law enjoyed in relation to the election of Knights of the Shire.

And be it enacted, that after the end of this present Parliament, every person owning or holding any lands or tenements situate within cities or towns, being counties of themselves, described in schedule (G) to this Act annexed (which lands or tenements would, if situated in a county not being a city or town which is a county of itself, entitle the owner or holder thereof to vote), shall be entitled to vote at any election for the knights of the Shire named in the said schedule (G) respectively.

Provided also, and be it hereby enacted, that no person shall vote for any Member to serve in any future Parliament, in respect of the ownership or possession of any lands or tenements, unless he shall have been seised or possessed thereof for the space of thirty days at least before the registration (to be made in manner hereinafter directed) last before the election at which he shall claim to vote.

And be it enacted, that each of the counties enumerated in schedule (H.) to this Act annexed, to be divided in manner hereinafter particularly directed, shall in like manner choose and return four Knights of the Shire instead of two, to serve in all future Parliaments for the same respectively.

the persons to whom all writs and precepts And he it enacted, that in all future Parshall, after the end of this present Parliament, liaments there shall be six Knights of the be directed, and shall be the returning officers Shire instead of four, to serve for the county

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of York; that is to say, two Members for each right to vote, after the end of this present of the three ridings of the said county, to be elected in such manner, and by the same classes and descriptions of voters, and in respect of the same several rights of voting, as if each of the three ridings were a county

And be it enacted, that in all future Parliaments there shall be four. Knights of the Shire instead of two, to serve for the county of Lincoln, that is to say, two for the parts of Lindsey, in the said county, and two for the parts of Holland and the parts of Kesteven, in the same county; and that such four Members shall be chosen in the same manner and by the same classes and descriptions of voters, and in respect of the same several rights of voting, as if the said parts of Lindsey were a separate county, and the said parts of Holland and Kesteven together were also a separate county.

And be it enacted, that in like manner all persons now having, or who would by virtue of this Act acquire the right of voting in elections for Knights of the Shire for the county of Southampton, by reason of the ownership or possession of any lands or tenements situate within the Isle of Wight, shall in all future Parliaments cease to vote in such election for the county at large, in respect of such ownership or possession, and shall be entitled to choose one Member to serve for the Isle of Wight, and that all elections for the same shall be holden at the town of Newport in the Isle of Wight.

And be it enacted, that a Committee of the Lords of his Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, to be selected and named by his Majesty, under his Royal sign manual, shall, within three months of the passing of this Act, inquire into and determine in what manner the said counties enumerated in schedule (H.) to this Act annexed, shall thereafter be divided, for the Election of Knights of the Shire to serve in all future Parliaments; and shall have the power of uniting and incorporating with any county, or any division of a county to be by them made (for the purposes of election only) any outlying portions of any other county which may be locally situate within the former, and shall make a report to his Majesty in Council: and it shall be lawful for his Majesty to issue his Royal Proclamation, making known the determination and report of the said Committee, and such reports shall forthwith be laid before both Houses of Parliament.

And be it enacted, that the said Committee shall also in their said Report determine at what places respectively all elections of Knights of the Shire to serve in all future Parliaments for the respective divisions of the said counties, when so divided, shall be holden.

And be it enacted, that after such division and incorporation of the said counties shall have been proclaimed as herein before-mentioned, any person claiming and having the Houses of Parliament.

Parliament, for a Knight of the Shire to serve in Parliament, shall vote only for that division of the said county in which the property in respect of which he claims to vote shall be situate.

And be it enacted, that another committee of his Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, to be named by his Majesty under his sign manual, shall inquire into and determine the limits and boundaries of all the cities and boroughs in England and Wafes having the right of sending members to Parliament, and shall have power to annex unto and incorporate with any city or borough, any parish or township locally situated within such city or borough or thereto adjoining, or any outlying portion of any parish or township which may happen to be locally situate beyoud the limits of such city or borough tespectively, or shall, on or before the after the passing of this Act, lay before his Majesty in Council a report of such their determination; and it shall be lawful for his Majesty to issue his Royal Proclamation, making known the said determination and re-port of the said committee, from the date of which Proclamation such cities and boroughs

shall be and remain bounded and limited, annexed and incorporated respectively, according to such determination as aforesaid; and the said Report shall forthwith be laid

before both Houses of Parliament.

And be it enacted, that the said last-mentioned Committee of the Lords of his Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council shall, within three months after the passing of this Act, proceed to annex to such cities and boroughs (except those enumerated in schedule (A.) as now have the privilege of sending members to Parliament, but do not contain more than three hundred houses, of the yearly value of ten pounds at least, or rated to the relief of the poor, or to the duty assessed upon inhabited houses at ten pounds by the year at least, any parish or township within which the said city or borough, or any part thereof may lie, or any parish or township adjoining thereto, or any outlying portions of any other parish or township that may be locally situate within such city or borough, or within such annexed parish or township, parishes or townships, as such committee may deem convenient (for the purposes of election only); and every such city or borough shall, jointly with such annexed parish or township, parishes or townships, be a city or borough for the purpose of electing members, and return such member or members as they may be entitled respectively to return to serve in all future parliaments; and the said last-mentioned committee shall make a report of their determination touching the said annexations to his Majesty in Council, and it shall be lawful for his Majesty to issue his Royal Proclamation, making known the said determination and report of the said committee, and the said report shall forthwith be laid before both

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members to serve in any future parliament for cities and boroughs, every male person of full age, and not subject to any legal incapacity, who shall have occupied for six months previous to the settlement of the registers which are bereinafter directed to be made, any house within such cities or boroughs of the clear yearly value of ten pounds, or bona fide subject to the yearly rent of ten pounds, or which shall have been for the same time rated to the relief of the poor, or to the duty assessed upon inhabited houses, at a sum not less than ten pounds, shall have a right to vote for such cities and boroughs: provided always, that no person who shall not have been duly registered according to the provisions herein-after contained shall be admitted to vote at such election: provided also, that every person now having a right to vote in virtue of any corporate right, shall retain such right for his life, and, on being duly registered, shall be entitled to vote, provided every such person shall have resided for six months previous to the time of registration herein directed, within seven statute miles of the usual place of election within such city or borough; and provided, also, that any person now having a right to vote by reason of owning or occupying any tenement, shall retain such right as long as he owns and occupies the same or any other tenement in the same place, by reason of which ownership or occupation he will have a right of voting by the laws or customs now in force, and shall be allowed to vote, if duly registered, as hereinafter directed.

And be it enacted, that the churchwardens and overseers of every parish and township, in part or in whole, situate within, or by virtue of this Act to be annexed to any city or borough returning, or which shall return Members to serve in any future Parliament (except those named in schedule A), shall, on in the present or before the

year, and on or before and the in each subsequent year, make out an alphabetical list of every male person residing within such city or borough, or annexed parish or township, as the case may be, occupying a house of the clear yearly value of ten pounds, or bona fide subject to the yearly rent of ten pounds, or rated to the relief of the poor, or to the duty And be it enacted, that the churchwardens which all the rents, rates, and taxes shall have been paid up to that time; and another uch list, of every male person claiming to be entitled, by reason of the ownership or possession of any freehold, lease hold, or copyhold, or customary lands or tenemany other right existing in such persons at he time of passing this Act, and shall affix uch lists to the doors of all churches and happels in the several townships and parishes itsuate within the said cities and boroughs espectively, on the three Sundays next after hey shall have been made respectively in this and every subsequent year.

And be it enacted, that the churchwardens and overseers of every parish and township is shall make an alphabetical list of all persons claiming to be entitled, by reason of the ownership or possession of any freehold, lease hold, or copyhold, or customary lands or tenements, situate within such parish or township lies, and shall on or before the in the present year, and of the ownership or possession of any freehold, lease hold, or copyhold, or customary lands or tenements, situate within such parish or township lies, and shall on or before the in the present year, and of the ownership or possession of any freehold, lease hold, or copyhold, or customary lands or tenements, situate within such parish or township lies, and shall on or before the in the present year, and or before the in each succeeding parish or township lies, and shall on or before the in the present year, and or before the interest. on inhabited houses, at a sum of not less than ten pounds by the year, and in respect of which all the rents, rates, and taxes shall have been paid up to that time; and another such list, of every male person claiming to vote by virtue of any corporate, or burgess, or any other right existing in such persons at the time of passing this Act, and shall affix such lists to the doors of all churches and chapels in the several townships and parishes situate within the said cities and boroughs respectively, on the three Sundays next after they shall have been made respectively in this and every subsequent year.

And be it enacted, that in all elections for following the last of the said three Sundays in the present year, and on the first Monday in the month of November in each succeeding year, the returning officer of every city or borough shall sit in some convenient public hall or place (having first given three clear days' notice of his sitting, to be affixed on the doors of all the said churches and chapels) for hearing objections to the insertion or omission of names in either of the said lists, and for inquiring into the truth of such objections, and for expunging, retaining, or inserting names

according to the best of his judgment.

And be it enacted, that the said returning officer shall have full power, and he is hereby required to retain on the said list all names to which no valid objection shall be made and proved by evidence, and to insert in such list the name of every male person of full age, not subject to any legal incapacity, who shall appear to have been residing for six months at least within such city or borough, or such annexed parish or township, and to have either been in the occupation of such house as aforesaid for six months at the least before the Monday on which the said reurning officer shall commence his sittings, or to be entitled in some other right, hereby saved, or not hereby affected, to vote at the election of Members of Parliament to serve for such city or borough; and shall expunge from the said list the name of every person who shall be proved to be a minor under the age of twentyone years, or incapacitated by any law or statute from voting for Members to serve in Parliament, and of every person who shall be proved not to have been for the time aforesaid the occupier of such house as aforesaid, or not to have made good the payment of all rates, rents, and taxes, or who shall not prove himself entitled in some other right to vote in the election of Members to serve for such city or borough; provided that no person's name shall be expunged without one clear week's notice first given to him or left at his residence; and no person's name shall be inserted without three clear weeks' notice to the churchwardens and overseers aforesaid, of his claim to have his name inserted, and without by the such notice being affixed for the three Suntated by days preceding the said Monday on the doors election of all churches and chapels within the parish and sha wherein such person shall reside.

And be it enacted, that the churchwardens bay, to

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church or chapel, then to be fixed up in some public and conspicuous situation within the same, respectively on the first three Sundays in the month of September in each year; and on or before the twenty-fifth day of September in each year, shall send such list to the High Constable or High Constables of the hundred wherein such parish or township lies, who shall forthwith transmit the same to the Clerk of the Peace of the County.

And be it enacted, that the Judges named in the last Commission of Assize for each county, immediately alter the passing of this Act, and in each succeeding year the Judges of Assize for each county, when travelling the Summer Circuit, shall nominate and appoint (subject, nevertheless, to the approbation of the Lord High Chancellor, Lord Keeper, or Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal for the time being) a Barrister to revise such lists, and decide upon all objections to the omission or insertion of the names therein respectively; and that such Barrister, so appointed as aforesaid, shall give public notice by advertisement, in the county newspapers, that he will make a circuit of the county for which he shall be so nominated and appointed, and of the several times and places at which he will hold Courts for that purpose, and he shall hold an open Court for that purpose, at the times and places so to be announced; and that such Barrister shall be paid for discharging the duty so cast upon him, out of the at the rate of not more than or less than

for every day that he shall be so employed; provided always, that no Barrister, so nominated and appointed as aforesaid, shall be eligible to serve in Parliament for twelve months from the time of such his appointment for the county for which he shall

be nominated and appointed.

And be it enacted, that the said Barrister shall inquire into and determine all such objections as aforesaid, and shall expunge the names of all persons who shall not have owned or held the lands or tenements in respect of to the which he claims to vote for the space of thirty d, of his days, at the least, before the first day of holdwithout ing the said Court, or who shall be incapaciee Sun- tated by any law or statute from voting in the he doors election of Members to serve in Parliament, ne parish and shall insert the name of any person who wardens rove himself to be be name of any person who may, to the satisfaction of such Barrister, rove himself to have owned or held such bushing and tenements as may entitle him to a lection of the dall not be proved incapable, by law, of old, lease so rene larliament: provided, that no name shall be township expunged or inserted without such notice and the belication as is hereinbefore required in reserve in or before a such as the lists to be made for cities and not be forein such as ar, and of the belication as and such Barrister so holding their

making objection to the insertion or omission of any name in such list as aforesaid, and to all persons objected against, and to all witnesses who may be tendered on either side, but that the said hearings shall not be attended by Counsel; and that such Returning Officer or Barrister shall, upon the hearing in open Court, finally determine upon the validity of such claims and objections, and shall in open Court write his initials against the names respectively struck out or inserted, and sign his name to the several lists so

settled.

And be it enacted, that such lists shall, when so settled and signed, be tacked together and form one list for the county or division, city or borough, respectively; and the list so signed by the said barrister shall be transmitted to the Clerk of the Peace of the county for which he shall have been appointed; and the list so signed by the said Returning Officer shall be by him kept and handed over at the expiration of his office to the person succeeding him in the same; and that the Clerk of the Peace and the Returning Officer respectively shall cause copies of the same to be printed at the expense of the county (which shall be delivered to all persons applying, on payment of sixpence for each copy), and that such lists shall be the lists of electors to vote after the end of this present Parliament, in the choice of knights, citizens, and burgesses for the severa! counties, and division of counties, cities, and boroughs for which such lists shall be made respectively at any election which may be holden within twelve months next after the said

in the present year, and the lists to be made in each succeeding year shall be the lists of the electors to vote at any election to be holden after the first day of December in

each succeeding year respectively.

And be it enacted, that in all elections whatever of Members to serve in any future Parliament, no inquiry shall be permitted at the time of polling, except as to whether the person claiming to vote be the same whose name appears in such list, and whether such persons shall have previously voted at the same election, and no such person shall be excluded from voting at any such election, except by reason of his refusing to take the oaths or make the affirmation required by

Provided nevertheless, and be it further enacted, that by petitioning to the House of Commons complaining of an undue election or return of any knight, Citizen, or burgess, any Petitioner shall be at liberty to question the correctness of the lists which shall have been settled by such barrister or Returning Officer, and to prove that names were improperly retained, inserted, expunged, or omitted at the registration that shall have taken place next before the election or return complained of; and the Committee before whom the door spective Courts as aforesaid, shall have ithin such ever to administer an oath to all persons may inquire into the same, and alter the political could be not be such that such Returning of the election or return complained of; and the Committee before whom the merits of any such Petition shall be tried may inquire into the same, and alter the political control of the election or return complained of; and the Committee before whom the merits of any such Petition shall be tried may inquire into the same, and alter the political control of the election of the el taken at such election according to the truth now entitled or by this Act empowered to send of the case, and direct the return to be amended accordingly; and in case of corruption, partiality, or wilful misconduct, may order such costs to be paid to the petitioner by such barrister or Returning Officer as such Committee shall think reasonable.

And be it enacted, that the Sheriffs of the counties directed hereby to be divided, shall fix the several days of election for Knights of the Shire for the several parts, ridings, and divisions of their said respective counties, and shall preside at the same by themselves or

their lawful Deputies. And be it enacted, that at all contested elections of Members to serve in all future Parliaments, except elections for counties, and divisions of counties, the poll shall commeace on the day of nomination, or on the day next following, or at the latest on the third day; and that the number of hours during which the polling shall proceed, shall on the first day of polling be seven, and on the second day eight; and that the poll shall on no account be kept open later than four o'clock in the afternoon of such second day; and the final state of the poll shall be declared not later than two o'clock in the afternoon of the third day after the poll shall be opened; and the Returning Officer or Officers shall return the Member or Members to serve in Parliament by virtue of such election immediately after the final state of the poll is declared.

And be it enacted, that if on the day of election of a knight to serve in any future Parliament for any county or division, more candidates shall be proposed for the choice of the electors than the number of vacancies to be filled up, and a poll shall be demanded, the polling shall commence at nine o'clock in the forenoon of the next day but one after the day of election, in the several places to be appointed as hereinafter directed by the Magistrates for taking polls; and the final state of the poll shall be declared at noon of the sixth day after the said day of election.

And be it enacted, that the Justices of the Peace for each county assembled at the General Quarter Sessions to be holden next after the passing of this Act, and after such Royal Proclamations as hereinbefore mentioned, making known the divisions and incorporations of the said counties for which, after the passing of this Act, Kuights of the Shire shall be elected, to serve in all future Parliaments, or at some Special Sessions to be by them appointed, and of which at least there shall be given ten days' public notice, shall consider and shall have full power to appoint convenient places within such counties and divisions for taking the poll at all future elections of Knights of the Shire to serve in Parliament for the said counties and divisions respectively, ia such manner that no person shall have to travel more than fifteen miles from the property in respect of which he claims to vote; provided that no county or division of a county

Knights of the Shire to serve in Parliament shall have more than fifteen places appointed for taking the poll for the same respectively.

And be it enacted, that the said Justices of the Peace shall have the like authority to appoint different places, at the end of two years from the first appointment to be made for that purpose, and that a list of the polling places to be so appointed shall be lodged with the Clerk of the Peace of each county; and that the names of such places so appointed shall be inserted on lists to be affixed on the door of the churches and chapels within each county and division immediately after they are so made according to the last appointment, and the polling at election shall take place according to the list last lodged, in conformity to this enactment, with the said Clerk of the Peace.

And be it enacted, that every election of members to serve in all future parliaments for all cities and boroughs in England shall be held, carried on and concluded in some one place, and under the superintendence and control of the same returning officer or officers; but there shall be appointed for taking the poll at such election different booths for different parishes, districts, or places, so divided and allotted as to the returning officer or officers shall seem most convenient, of which division and allotment public notice shall be given, so that no greater number than six hundred shall be required to poll at any one booth.

And be it enacted, that, after the end of this present Parliament, all booths to be built for the convenience of taking polls shall be erected by contract with the candidates, or if they cannot agree, such booths shall be erected by the Sheriff or other returning officer or officers at the joint and equal expense of the several candidates; and that the clerks employed in taking the poll shall be paid one guinea by the day by each of the candidates at such election : provided always, that if any person shall be proposed without his consent, then the person so preposing him shall be liable to defray his share of the said expenses in like manner as if he had been a cand date.

And be it enacted, that the number of hours during which the poll for any county or division shall be taken on the first day shall be seven, and on the second day shall be eight; and that no poll shall be kept open later than four o'clock in the afternoon of the second day.

And be it enacted that the poll-clerks, at the close of each day's poll of an election for any county or division, shall inclose and seal their several books, and shall in open Court deliver them so sealed to the Sheriff or to his deputy presiding at such poll, who shall give a receipt for the same; and the Sheriff or his deputy who so receives, shall, on the com-mencement of the poll on the second day, deliver them back so enclosed and sealed to

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nd day, aled to the person from whom he shall have received | such costs to be by him paid to any Petitioner them; and on the final close of the poll the said Sheriff or such his deputy shall keep the said poll-books so unopened until the re-assembling of the Court on the sixth day, when he shall openly break the seals thereon, and cast up the number of votes as they appear on the said several books, and shall openly declare the state of the poll or polls, and shall make proclamation of the Member or Members

An i be it enacted, that so much of an Act passed in the 20th year of the reign of King George the Third, intituled, " An Act to remove certain difficulties relative to voters at County Elections," as requires the names of freeholders to be placed on the land-tax roll, shall be and the same is hereby repealed; and all laws, statutes, and usages now in force respecting the election of Members to serve in Parliament for that part of the United Kingdom called England and Wales, shall be and remain, and are hereby declared to be and remain in full force, except so far as they are repealed or altered by this Act.

And be it enacted, that if any Sheriff, Returning Officer, Barrister, or any person whatsoever, shall wilfully contravene or disobey the provisions of this Act, or any of them, with respect to any matter or thing which such such Sheriff, Returning Officer, Barrister, or other person, is hereby required to do, he shall for such his offence be liable to he sued in an action of debt in any of his Majesty's Courts of Record at Westminster, for the penal sum of and the Jury before whom such action shall be tried, may find their verdict for the full sum

of or for any less sum not less than which the said Jury shall think it just that he should pay for such his offence; and the defendant in such action, being convicted, shall pay such penal sum so awarded, with full costs of suit, to any party who may sue for the same, without prejudice, however, to the right of any party grieved by the same misconduct of such Sheriff, Returning Officer, Barrister, or other person, to recover such damages in an action on the case for a false return, or any other grievance, as he may be intitled to at common law, or by virtue of any statute now in force.

And be it enacted, that if any person named in any of the lists so as aforesaid required to be made, but who at the time of any election shall be in the enjoyment of any office now by law disqualifying him from giving his vote at the election of Members to serve in Parliament, shall presume to vote at such election, he shall be liable to all penalties and forfeitu es to which he would have been subject for the said offence by any law in force at the time of the passing of this Act, any-thing herein contained notwithstanding; and in case of a Petition to the House of Commons, for altering the return or setting aside the election in which such person shall have voted, his vote shall be struck off by the Committee, with

as to such Committee shall seem just.

And be it enacted and provided, that nothing in this Act contained shall extend to or in any wise affect the election for Members to serve in Parliament for the Universities of

Oxford or Cambridge.

And be it enacted that throughout this Act, wherever the words "city or borough, " cities or boroughs," may occur, those words shall extend to and include all towns corporate, cinque ports, districts, or places within England and Wales which shall be entitled, after this Act shall have passed, to return Members to serve in Parliament, other than counties and divisions of counties, and also to the town of Berwick upon-Tweed; and the words " re-turning Officer" shall apply to every person or persons who by virtue of his or their office, either under the present Act or under any former law, custom, or statute, has, or have had, and shall have, the right of returning writs or precepts for the election of Members to serve in Parliament, by whatever name such person or persons may have been called; and the words "parish or township" shall extend to every parish, township, vill, hamlet, district, or place maintaining its own poor; and the words "churchwardens and overseers of the poor" shall extend to all overseers of the poor in the several parishes, townships or chapelries, vills, districts or places, by whatever name or title they may called, and whether appointed under the Act for the Relief of the Poor passed in the fortythird year of her Majesty Queen Elizabeth, or under any local Act, or according to any peculiar custom, or in any other manner whatever.

# SCHEDULES TO WHICH THIS ACT REFERS.

| SCHEDULE        |  | (A.)         |  |
|-----------------|--|--------------|--|
| Boroughs.       |  | Counties     |  |
| Aldborough      |  | York-hire    |  |
| Aldburg         |  | Suffolk      |  |
| Appleby         |  | Westmoreland |  |
| Bedwin, Great   |  | Wilts        |  |
| Berealston      |  | Devonshire:  |  |
| Bishop's Castle |  | Salop        |  |
| Bletchingley    |  | Surrey       |  |
| Boroughbridge   |  | Yorkshire    |  |
| Bossiney        |  | Cornwall     |  |
| Brackley        |  | Northampton  |  |
| Bramber         |  | Sussex       |  |
| Buckingham      |  | Buckingham   |  |
| Callington      |  | Cornwall     |  |
| Camelford       |  | ditto        |  |
| Castle Rising   |  | Norfolk      |  |
| Corfe Castle    |  | Dorsetshire  |  |
| Dunwich         |  | Suffalk      |  |
| Eye             |  | ditto        |  |
| Fowey           |  | Cornwall     |  |
| Gatton          |  | Surrey       |  |
| Haslemere       |  | ditto        |  |
| Hedon           |  | Yorkshire    |  |
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|----------------------------|------------------------|--------------------|---|---|--|
| Boroughs.                  | Counties.              | Borous             | ths. Cou                                      | inties.                                 |  |
| Heytesbury                 | Wilts                  |                    | ough Wilts                                    | 1                                       |  |
| Higham Ferrars             | Northampton            | Marlow,            |   |   |  |
| Hindon                     | Wilts                  | Morpeth            |   | mberland                                |  |
| lichester                  | Somersetshire          | Northall           |   | STATE PLANE                             |  |
| East Looe                  | Cornwall               | Penryn             |   | all                                     |  |
| West Looe                  | ditto                  | Richmon            |   |   |  |
| Lostwithiel                | • ditto                | Rye                | Sussex  |   |  |
| Ludgershall                | Wilts                  | St. Gern           |   | all                                     |  |
| Malmesbury                 | Wiltshire              | St. Ives           | ditto   |   |  |
| Midhurst                   | Sussex                 | Sandwic            |   |   |  |
| Milborne Port              | Somersetshire          | Shaftesh           |   |   |  |
| Minehead                   | ditto                  | Sudbury            | Suffolk                                       |   |  |
| Newport                    | Cornwall               | Tamwor             |   | 1 & Warw.                               |  |
| Newton                     | Lancashire             | Thetfore           |   |   |  |
| Newtown                    | Isle of Wight          | Thirsk             | York  | Line.                                   |  |
| Okehampton                 | Devonshire             | Totness            |   |   |  |
| Orford                     | Suffolk                | Truro              | Cornwa  |   |  |
| Petersfield                | Hants                  | Walling            |   |   |  |
| Plympton                   | Devonshire             | Westbur            | 1544  | ire                                     |  |
| Queenhorough               | Kent                   | Wilton             | ditto   |   |  |
| Reigate                    | Surrey                 | Wycomi             | be Bucks                                      |   |  |
| Romney, New                | Kent                   | 1                  |   |   |  |
| St. Mawe's                 | Cornwall               |                    | SCHEDULE (C.)                                 |   |  |
| St. Michael's              | ditto                  | Places.            |   | Returning                               |  |
| Saltash                    | ditto                  | Places.            | Parish or Township.                           | Officer.                                |  |
| Old Sarum                  | Wilts                  | Manchester         | Township of Manchester                        | The Barough                             |  |
| Seaford                    | Sussex                 | Manchester         | Township of Salford                           | reeve of Man-                           |  |
| Steyning                   | ditto                  |                    | Townships of-                                 | chester                                 |  |
| Stockbridge                | Hants                  | 1                  | Chorlton Row                                  |   |  |
| Tregony                    | Cornwall Dorsetshire   | 1                  | Ardwicke<br>Beswick                           |   |  |
| Wareham                    | Bucks                  |                    | Hulme   | -                                       |  |
| Wendover                   | Herefordshire          |                    | Cheetham and Pendle                           | -                                       |  |
| Weobly                     | Hants                  | Birmingham         | ton, Lancashire<br>Parishes of                | The two Bai-                            |  |
| Whitehurch                 | Sussex                 | Dirmingnam         | St. Philip & St. Mary                         | liffs of the                            |  |
| Winchelsea                 | Oxfordshire            |                    | in Birmingham                                 | Town of Bir-                            |  |
| Woodstock<br>Wooton Basset | Wilts                  | Leeds              | Aston, Warwickshire<br>The Borough and Libert | mingham<br>The Mayor of                 |  |
| Yarmouth                   | Isle of Wight          | 1.eeds             | of Leeds, Yorkshire                           | Leeds                                   |  |
| 3 armoutit                 | isie ei wight          | Halifax            | Parish of Halifax, York                       | -                                       |  |
| Causa                      | (P)                    | Greenwich          | shire<br>Parishes of                          |   |  |
| II amount to a             | DULE (B.)              | Greenwich          | Greenwich;                                    |   |  |
| Boroughs.                  | Counties.              | 1                  | St. Nicholas and St.                          |   |  |
| Amersham 1                 | Buckingham             |                    | Paul, Deptford;<br>Woolwich, Kent             |   |  |
| Arnudel                    | Sussex                 | Sheffield          | Townships of                                  | The Master                              |  |
| Ashburton                  | Devou                  |                    | Sheffield                                     | Cutler                                  |  |
| Bodmin                     | Cornwall               |                    | Ecclesall<br>Brightside                       | 1                                       |  |
| Bridport                   | Dorsetshire            |                    | Nether Hallam                                 | 1                                       |  |
| Chippenham                 | Wiltshire              |                    | Upper Hallam                                  |   |  |
| Clitheroe                  | Lancashire             | Candadani          | Parishes of                                   |   |  |
| Cockermouth                | Cumberland             | Sunderland         | Sunderland                                    | 1                                       |  |
| Dorchester                 | Dorsetshire            | 1                  | Bishopwearmouth and                           |   |  |
| Downton                    | Wiltshire              |                    | Monkswearmouth,                               |   |  |
| Droitwich                  | Worcestershire         | Descripert         | Durham The Town of Devonpor                   |   |  |
| Evesham                    | 1144                   | Devonport          | and   | All the part of                         |  |
| Grimsby, Great             | Lincolushire           |                    | Township of Stonehouse                        | 111111111111111111111111111111111111111 |  |
| Grinstead, East            | Sussex                 | W-1 - 1            | Devon<br>Parishes of—                         | Constable of                            |  |
| Guildford                  | Surrey                 | Wolverhamp-<br>ton | Wolverhampton                                 | Manor of the                            |  |
| Helston                    | Cornwall               | 100                | Bilston, and                                  | Deanery of                              |  |
| Honiton                    | Devonshire             | 70                 | Sedgley, Staffordshire                        | Wolverhamp-                             |  |
| Huntingdon                 | Huntingdon             | Tower Hamlets      | Parishes of the Towe<br>Division. Ossulston   |   |  |
| Hythe                      | Kent                   |                    | Hundred, Middlese:                            |   |  |
| Launceston                 | Cornwall               | Finsbury           | Parishes of the Finsbur                       | y                                       |  |
| Leominster                 | Herefordshire          |                    | Division, Ossulston<br>Hundred, Middlese:     |   |  |
| Liskeard                   | Cornwall               | 10.000             | Hundred, Middlese:<br>Parishes of—            | 1 4 1 1 1                               |  |
| Lyme Regis                 | Dorsetshire            |                    | St Andrew, Holborn, &                         |   |  |
| Lymington                  | Hampshire              |                    | St George the Marty                           |   |  |
|                            | W. SERST TOTAL FLATTER | And training       | Saffron Hill                                  |   |  |
| Maldon                     | Essex                  |                    | Hatton Garden                                 |   |  |

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| Places,  |  |  |   |  |
|--|--|--|---|--|
| -  | Parish or Township.  | Ret. Officer.  |   | Town, &c. County.  |
|  | Ely Rents<br>St. Giles in the Fields,  | Marilan  | Pwllheli  | A second   |
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# HUNT'S, BARING'S, AND PALMERSTON'S SPEECH.

ON THE REFORM BILL.

## HUNT'S STUFF. March 2.

Mr. HUNT addressed the House at that early period because he was not very well, and did not anticipate that he should hear any-thing from the eloquent speeches of other hon. Members on a subject to which be had devoted his life. He had listened attentively to every-thing which had fallen from both sides, and must say that the plan of the noble Lord had gone far beyond his anticipations. He believed he had been personally alluded to (No, no!) as having taken a prominent part in this subject, and hoped, therefore, that he should not be considered presumptuous in delivering his sentiments on that occasion. He meant to do so unequivocally, because his voice was the voice of millions. The noble Lord had described his measure as coming between those who resisted all reform, and those who wanted too wide and sweeping a reform; and he hoped the noble Lord would not, to use an old adage, between these two stools fall to the ground. The noble Lord who spoke from that side of the House said there ought to be no reform; and as that noble Lord's sentiments were cheered by those on that side of the House, he should adopt the sentiments of the noble Lord as their sentiments. In like manner, he would assume the hon. Member for Calne's speech as expressing the sentiments of those who sat on the Ministerial side of the House. And he must say that he was extremely sorry to hear that hon, and learned Member say in his eloquent speech that we ought to give representatives to the middle classes to prevent the lower classes from having representatives. He regretted to hear that sentiment, because it was by no means calculated to conciliate the lower classes, and reconcile them to the measure of the noble Lord. When the hon. Member for Calue (Macauley) talked of the rabble as opposed to what he was pleased to call the middle classes, did he mean to admit that in taking away from that rabble the right of choosing representatives, he was also willing to exempt them from the payment of the taxes—from serving in the militia, or from being called on to fight the battles of their country? (Hear.) Every man in the kingdom knew his opinions on these matters. He had always advocated, both without the walls of that House and within them, the principle of an equality of political rights. He had always contended, and would still continue to contend, that every man who paid taxes to the state was entitled to a vote in the choice of his representatives, and that taxawilling to exempt them from the payment of

tion and representation should go hand in hand. (Hear.) Was he, then, to be told by the hon. Member for Calne that those who fought in the army and the navy of their country-who paid the greatest portion of the taxes-who were called on to contribute to the support of the Government by a tax levied on almost every article of human subsistence -was he to be told by the hon. Member for Calne that those persons were unfit to choose their representatives, and that the plan then before the House gave an extension of suf-frage to the middle classes, in order to prevent the lower classes from obtaining their rights? (Hear.) This was the declaration of the hon. Member-this was the principle of the measure before the House; and he spoke the sentiments of millions when he declared that it would give no satisfaction to those who were justly entitled to the exercise of their constitutional privileges. It had been said that the plan now before the House was not but revolution. He, too, would admit it to be revolution when it was proved to him that the rotten boroughs were a portion of the constitution. (Hear.) Now when the hon. Member for Calue was talking so much of the rabble he looked very hard at him. (Loud laughter.) He understood that laugh. Hear, and continued laughter.) sorry the hon. Member for Calne had not remained in his place, that he (Mr. Hunt) might look now in the same way at him (Mr. Macauley here resumed the seat he had formerly occupied.) Well, he saw the bon. Member now, and he asked him again if he was prepared to exempt all those from the payment of the taxes and from public service who did not possess a vote for a representative? He asked the hon. Member if he was prepared to do this, and he asked, at the same time, if he knew from what class of men those votes were taken? Did he know, or did the noble Lord who brought forward this measure know, who were the voters of Ilchester (a laugh), of Lodgershall, and of some of the boroughs of Cornwall? He knew what the boroughs of Cornwall? class of men the voters for Ilchester were-a place where he had been confined two years and a half. (Great laughter.) That laugh he understood again. (Continued laughter, But he repeated, he knew the electors of Ilchester, and that they frequently ran up a that Ho score of from thirty to five and thirty pounds propriet between one election and another, depending stonish solely on the candidates to defray the bill ter of the when they came to solicit their votes. Many 32 733 in by ho eir the to ied nce for ose ien ufent ts? on. eathe that who heir said not ould oved tion the nuch him. ugh. was not luut) (Mr. hon. if he n the ervice entae was same or did 1 this leliesme of what ere-a ghter:)

the tax-payers to that right, and he would continue to do so in spite of all the laughs which might be raised against the claims of the rabble. He had for years attended public meetings. (Hear.) Aye, public meetings, composed of men a great deal more intelligent and better educated than the inhabitants of that most degraded and rottenest of rotten boroughs, the borough of Calne. (Loud laughter, and hear, hear.) How the noble Paymaster of the Forces could have passed over that rottenest, stinkingest, skulkingest of boroughs, he could not understand. (Laughter, and hear, hear.) He could not tell how the noble Lord had exempted it from that general destruction which be had so properly dealt out to the others. (Hear.) They had been told that if the measure now before them was not carried, its rejection would lead to revolution and massacre. (No, no.) What sort of massacre? ("Question.") When he attended a meeting at Manchester, in the year 1819 (laughter, and cries of "Question"); when he attended that meeting, a meeting as peaceable and as orderly as that now assembled in the House of Commons, and met, too, for as peaceable and constitutional an object, the attainment of constitutional reform ("Question"); when that meeting took place there was a real massacre. A drunken and infuriated yeomanry (loud cries of "No, no," and "Question"), a drunken and infuriated yeomanry, with swords newly sharpened (reiterated cries of " No," and " Question " from both sides of the House), with swords newly sharpened, slaughtered fourteen, and maimed and wounded six hundred and forty-eight. Shouts of "No," and "Question.") Where is the man (said the hon. Member) who will step forward and say "No"? (Cries of "Order.") I say again (said the hon. Member, in a tone of voice louder and louder still, which was drowned by still more vehement cries of "No," and "Order"), that on that day a drunken and infuriated yeomanry murdered fourteen, and badly cut and maimed six hundred and forty-eight of as peaceable years and well-displayed him. and well-disposed persons as any he saw around him. (A laugh.) And what were these people thus treated doing? Why they s of Il- were doing that which the Government in up a that House were doing now, advocating the pounds propriety of Parliamentary Reform. He was ending istonished, indeed, to hear the noble Paymashe bill ter of the Forces contend that the House of Many Commons had not hitherto taken up the them, tit was people had not come forward as they now did, to as to compel the House to listen to them. Now how could this be? In the years 1816, 17, 18, and 19, the cause of Reform was pressed in the term of the attention of Parliament with as much reduce, that their petitions were much more espectfully worded then than they were now. It did not accuse the noble Lord of a desire to always feet any-thin; through intimidation, more

contended for the admission of the whole of than he believed there was a desire to effect their measures by force on the part of the people; nor did he condemn them for not having gone the whole of the length he wished. As far as the present measure went, it had his support; and even if the Government had determined to disfranchise but one of those boroughs, they would have had his support; but, he confessed, he regretted much the tendency of some of the observations of the Member for Calne, which went to create a division on the subject of the advantages of Reform of this kind out of doors, and to raise the belief that it was intended to collect the higher and the middle classes in array against the lower. (Hear, hear.) tendency of such arguments was, that because the working classes were poor, and because they were suffering, they were to be deprived of their rights; and, he feared, that when they heard the nature of the measure proposed, and the arguments by which some persons supported it, they would not view it with much gratification. He did not wish the rabble, as the honourable Member called them, to have votes; but he did wish that those who paid a rent of from three pounds a year up to ten pounds-the men who were the sinews and nerves of the country-should not be excluded. The Government said, however, they must draw a line; and this was the consequence of a deviation from principle, that the moment they abandoned priaciple they became involved in difficulties. He would illustrate the point by a legal case; and he appealed to the lawyers to correct him if he were in error. Supposing a man brought up to the bar to be heard for an offence against the laws, and he replies, "I did not know the law-I was ignorant I had violated any law. Would that be taken as a sufficient answer? No. They would say to him, you are hound to know the law, because you are a party to the making of all laws, by yourself, or through your representative, and we cannot admit your defence. And yet with this fact before them, they denied to those who were bound by the laws a vote for the representa-tives who made them. He considered the question now before the House to be one of the greatest importance which had ever come under their discussion, and that it involved their fate, and the fate of the country, more intimately than any event since the days when Cromwell ordered the mace to be taken from their table, and carried away the keys of the House in his pocket. He would tell the noble Lord that it was for advocating the question now introduced by him that he (Mr. Hunt) had been confined for two years and, a half in a loathsome dungeou. (Cries of "Question.") Hon, Members had, in the course of the debate, been permitted to go back to the period of Edward the Third (hear), and he thought be might be permitted, for his argument, to refer to events which: happened not more than ten years ago. (Hear.) He repeated, then, that he had

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been confined in a dungeon for advocating thought that they were right, under such this very same Reform; and he certainly never expected then to see that House yield to the force of the saying of Lord Chatham, " that if reform did not come from within doors, it would come from without with a vengeance." The hon. Member for Calne had observed, with truth, that there was no desire to attack the rights of the throne. A good deal had been said about the greasy radicals who went walking about the streets of London. (A laugh.) He was as thorough a radical as any in existence; but where was the man who could say that he had ever said a word against the rights of the throne? He had, as it was his duty to do, protested against the profligate extravagance of members of the Royal Family. (Cries of "Question," and "Order." He would not object to the passing of a Civil List, but he did object to the profligacy of that Family which had brought the institutions of the country into disrepute, and which had encouraged the demoralization of that House. (Question.) To the situation to which that House and the country were then brought, the Royal Family, he contended, had mainly contributed. He hoped, however, that the measure before the House would be carried, if it was only because it gave the country an increase of 500,000 electors; although he would tell the hon. Member for Calne, that ten times the number of good and honest voters would still be excluded. He trusted, that when the hon. Member had occasion to speak on the subject again, he would remember this, and deliver himself with a different temper and tone when he had occasion to mention the state of the people. (Hear. He was told that ten pounds was the proper qualification, but he thought that the best vote was that which came from the industrious artificer or manufacturer, who earned from thirty shillings to three pounds a week; and he was determined in the course of these discussions to take an opportunity of submitting a proposition on that subject to the consideration of the House. He repeated, that all who paid taxes should have a vote, and he knew the feeling to be strong in the Metropolis, that a number of persons who had no vote returned that circumstance as a ground of exemption on their militia-paper. (Cries of "Oh.") He repeated, they considered themselves exempted, and demanded exemption, because they had no share in the choice of representatives. In the North, he could tell them, that many of the young men were determined to rot in gaol rather than serve in the minuta, unless they obtained this privilege. (Cries of "No," and a laugh.) He said Yes; and he would go further. He would tell them, that were he in their situation, he would do the same. (Laughter.) If they deprived him of his right of speaking in that House, he would naturally take another course. The law says, that if a man, drawn to serve in the militia, refuses to do so, he is to be committed to prison; and he, for one, benefits of which they were to be excluded, and

circumstances, to take the consequences of a refusal. He knew what it was to be in gaol; (a laugh;) he had been confined two years and a half, ("Question" and laughter,) and he knew that persecution never made converts. (Hear.) Although he looked with respect on the right hon. Baronet near him (Sir R. Peel) and venerated his high talents, he remembered the time when he was in his custody; (toud laughter;) but, bating the high talent the right hon. Baronet possesses, he, (Mr. Hunt,) as Member for the borough of Preston, stood now quite as high as he did, and considered himself fully his equal. (A laugh.) He knew no way in which his constituents were touched by this measure; but, if they were, and a great constitutional object was about to be achieved, he should be willing to make the sacrifice. (Hear, hear.) He begged it, however, to be remembered, that he cousidered the borough of Preston as good as any other in the kingdom. Was it because they possessed universal suffrage, or something like it, that it could be said they chose improper Certainly not. men to represent them? They had for their representatives at different periods members of some of the highest families in the kingdom; and the exercise of their privileges had never been found fault He, it was true, had not much property. The late Government had taken care that he should not become rich; for it had placed him in gaol; (hear, and a laugh;) but did he seek the suffrages of the people of Preston? After the massacre of Manchester ("Question") he had been invited to stand for that borough, then under the influence of the great manufacturers, and although the goodwill was as great as it had been since, he was defeated, and 400 families were afterwards, in the year 1820, expelled from their homes in consequence of having voted for him. (The hon. Member was here interrupted by loud cries of "Question") The noble Lord, the Member for Devonshire, (Lord Ebrington,) had been permitted to say how he got into Parliament for that county, and he hoped the same indulgence would be granted, without claiming any thing on his own account, for the uncient borough of Preston. During the last election he was proposed, without any canvass or solicitation on his part, and in three days, he polled 3,020 votes. The people of Preston did this, not from any hostility to the right honourable Gentleman, the Member for Windsor, (Mr. Stanley,) not from any dislike to his family; but he would tell the House why they did it. They had read in the Act of Settlement that no placeman or pensioner was entitled to hold a seat in that House, and so they chose him. He hoped that this measure would be carried, and that there would be no reaction, although he really might ask how the great mass of the people could be called on to come forward and ask that House to support a reform, from the

which was intended for those above them? He would say, that if this measure was to be protected by the Ballot it would do; but as it was a mere extension of the suffrage to the tenantry of the rich and powerful, if they were not protected by the Ballot the representation would become even more corrupt than before. For his part he would never cease to advocate the necessity of the Ballot, because he was sure that the reforms they contemplated required the protection of the Ballot more than the system they possessed. He believed that this subject would now be pressed on their attention by petitions. He had heard of numerous meetings about to take place; and although the noble Lord (Lord John Russell) thought that there would be no agitation, and assured the House that there would be none, he (Mr. Hunt) knew from good authority that there would be such agitation as they had never seen before. (Hear, hear, hear.) There used to be itinerant orators to support the spirit of these meetings; but now there were to be meetings of the Common Hall and the Common Council, and throughout the kingdom, on the subject of this Reform plan. While he had the power to address himself to that House, he would do very little out of doors. (Hear, hear, and a laugh.) There he had the privilege of speaking that which he conceived likely to benefit the cause he espoused; and he therefore left to others the task of doing the work elsewhere. (A laugh.) He assured them there was no new light broken in on him with reference to this matter. He had always held the same opinions. At election dinners, and elsewhere, when a little knot of politicians condescended once a year to meet their constituents, and where he heard them utter language they would not have dared to make use of in that House, he had always recommended that these persons should be sent to say those things in the place where the whole world would hear them, and benefit from them; and that, rendering duty to their constituents, those constituents might also be left to play their own part when the occasion required it. He might occasionally have been led to use expressions, respecting that House, which were thought disrespectful, but he confessed be HAD BEEN MISLED BY OTHERS; and that, with the exception of some interruptions, of which he could scarcely complain more than others, he was bound to say, that he had been mistaken with respect to the character of its Members, and that it did not deserve the censure he had cast on it. (Hear, and a laugh.) He had little more to say; for he had already trespassed too long on their attention; but he must add, that those who said the Ballot would make men greater hypocrites, seemed to little of human nature or of society. They did not seem to recollect that at the clubs of the highest classes in England the Ballot was constantly resorted to as a means of evading the odiom of a vote; but if any

made its members hypocrites, he would have his heart made a very cullender with bullets. (A laugh.) The principle of the measure was founded in property, and intended for its protection; but he was prepared to contend that without the Ballot the principle would be wholly defeated in its operation. He was sorry he had trespassed on the House so long. He did not often do so, and should not probably do it again; but the importance of the occasion must be his apology. He knew the anxiety with which the House wished to hear the opinions of the right hon. Baronet (Sir R. Peel) and the Member for Boroughbridge (Sir C. Wetherell); and he confessed he shared that anxiety, for he had not heard as yet a single argument or observation on the subject of Reform with which he had not been familiar for the last twenty years. He was sure they w uld not make use of any of his arguments to serve their purposes (hear, and a laugh); and he should therefore at once conclude, in the hope that, if opposition was to be offered to Reform, there might be some reason found in those who offered it.

### HUNT'S STUFF, No. 2. March 12.

Mr. Hunt was the first, he said, who had spoken in that House respecting the neglect of the petitions of the people; he was now happy to find he had two allies in the persons of the hon. Members for Boroughbridge. (Laughter.) The Ministers never could have pretended to bring in the Bill under the pretence that it was in compliance with the wishes of the people. The number of petitions on the subject of Parliamentary Reform were in all 646. prayed, in addition to Reform, for retrenchment, for reduction of salaries and pensions, of sinccures and allowances, for the shortening of parliaments, and many for the Ballot; but only two of all these-that from Exeter and that from Bristol-prayed alone for any thing which was granted (cheers from the Opposition); but he was bound to add, that all over the country, in every parish of the metropolis, in every town and village throughout the land, the people were running mad in favour of the Ministerial measure. He had letters every Ministerial measure. He had letters every day, and sometimes 25 over his number, which was very expensive, giving him accounts of meetings to support Ministers. Never was there greater unanimity: but he should be a hypocrite if he did not declare, that although he would support the Bill, he would not be satisfied with it, as it did not concede any of the favourite objects of his life-neither retrenchment, nor reduction of salaries, or sinecures, or pen-sions, nor extension of the suffrage (indeed in many instances the Bill operated as a curtailment,) nor the vote by ballot; nor, in short, any one of the objects he had most ardently desired. He would not, therefore, hesitate to say, that even after this Bill was passed, he would go forth and endeavour out of House and in that House, to get a great deal man was to say in these clubs that the Ballot more for the people, and at hattanian and of

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# BARING AND PALMERSTON.

#### March 4.

Mr. BARING: This was a question on which he felt the greatest anxiety and hesitation, as, indeed, every man of thinking in that House must feel. The measure now before them was no ordinary act of Legislation; but, in point of fact, it was a new constitution that they were called upon to consider. (Cheers.) It might be said, he knew, that the old constitution was worn out-that it worked so ill, that it was the cause of misery, and misery to such an extent, that it behoved them to look into the affairs of the nation, with a view to the remodelling of the Government. But even though this might be said, he was sure that honourable Gentlemen on all sides of the House must admit that, in fact and substance, the measure now proposed was a new constitution. (Loud cheers.) He was sure that no honourable Gentleman below him could doubt that this was the proposition which the House was called on to consider. (Cheers.) Reference had been made to governments which existed in all parts of the world; but at least it must be allowed, that the only constitution which had tried to mix a popular influence with that of the Aristocracy and the Monarch was that which had been tried in this country (cheers)-a constitution which had (he would not say by the wisdom of our ancestors, but a good deal by happy fortune, or, more properly speaking, by the gift of Providence) at last brought them to that state of things which hitherto had been the envy of the world, and till of late years the subject of pride and satisfaction to Englishmen. (Cheers.) And what was that Constitution? As he understood it, it was the three Estates of King, Lords, and Commons; and this had been tried for the purpose of giving to the latter a share in the interests of the country. But now some said, in speaking of the Commons, they were sticking, rotten, and corrupt; but he said that it was that House which had been the means of mixing up the popular body with the various compounds of the interests of the country. But whether the result had been the good working of that general system to the welfare of the country or not-that was the question of which the country was to judge. (Hear, hear.) And when they had heard the hon. Member for Middlesex state in the course of the Debate, that if the people were left to themselves, the House would not have any very different aspect, he thought that it might be assumed, that the present representation was a pretty fair one of the voice of the people. He did not mean to say that a better constitution than that of Eugland might not be imagined; but if all the constitutional-mongers of the world had never been able to invent one where there was so much rational liberty, he was entitled to say that this was some proof that it was beyond the reach of the utmost wit of man, and that accident had given them that jewel, which,

to throw away, would be most wilful and incautious. (Cheers.) That being his view of the case, he hardly need make any apology to his right hon. Friends near him, with whom he had, for nearly five-and-twenty years, been pretty constantly a party man, for stating his sincere opinion on this subject. Butit was said that the King should keep to himself-the Aristocracy to themselves-and the Commons to themselves. He, however, contended that that was not the constitution of this country; and he should like to know what practical grievances the people had to complain of, because this was not the constitution? Had the power of the peerage ever trampled on the people? Had not the people more power in their hands-was there not, in fact, more popular power in this country than in any other country in the whole world? He would confess that his great apprehension of the encroachment of the popular power was because he thought that in a short time it would lead to the destruction of all liberty. (Cheers.) What grievances were there that had arisen from the action of the Government? Had the peers, at any time, passed any law that gave them the preference? In Courts of Justice, did not the Commons stand on an equality with them? Did the people find that their rights were not as secure as those of the peers? (Cheers.) He must confess that, for his part, he know of no such things. On the contrary, he thought that the very mixture of the three powers in this country was the greatest protection and support of its welfare. Cheers.) He also thought that the influences that had been spoken of were extremely well calculated to check the over-eagerness of the popular feeling; though, at the same time, that House did really respond to the voice of the people, of which, as he had said before, he could give no stronger proof than the admission which had been lately made by the hon. Member for Middlesex. Undoubtedly there was great restlessness abroad; but of that he personally had no apprehension. But, at the same time, did not that restlessness show itself also in that House? The people did not quite know what they wanted-and in the same manner the House of Commons did not quite know what they wanted. (A laugh.) They had turned out one Administration and put in another; but, for all that, they did not show that they were disposed to support either the one or the other. This was restlessness the one or the other. that responded to that of the people; therefore, in this way, it might also be said that they represented the people. It had been well said, that the House of Commons just represented the people so as to afford them time to reflect. That House did not do things in the hurry of those who went to taverns and market-places for the purpose of talking politics, but they met the popular voice as though they had said to it, "Just take time to reconsider the matter." The benefit of this system had been sufficiently evident in the great question of Catholic Emancipation;

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for had that House then acted as the hon. Member for Westminster seemed to wishhad that House immediately represented the popular agitation that was going on without, that measure would never have been carried; and he believed that it was generally admitted to be a measure on which the peace of the empire had depended. In his opini n, the present representation was not at all at enmity with the people; and he was convinced that the people, seeing the great attention which that House paid to all the interests of the country, would be satisfied with it: and if even there had been a legislature which had watched with parental care over the interests of all classes, the House of Commons was that legislature; and he who denied it, must either be grossly wanting in observation, or of a most perverted judgment. (Cheers.) But it seemed that there was a new light coming upon them, and to what did it amount? That the whole influence of the aristocracy was to go. (Cries of "No, no," answered by continued cheering from the opposition.) The principle on which those market place reformers set out was, that the influence of the aristocracy with that House was illegal. He trusted that no Gentleman would suppose that he was speaking entirely for the aristocratical influence. He should be sorry to see the people-even those of the very lowest grade-without considerable influence in that House: but it was because the interest of one counteracted the interest of another, that they were able to take the representatives of what might be called-not offensively-low popularity into that House. Let them look at the example of Francethere, with a population of 32 millions of people, the constituency of the country had been something short of 90,000, and the qualification of those voters was the payment of 12% in taxes, which might be calculated as answering to an iucome of about 601. a year, which, when it was considered what was the difference between the money and fortunes of the two countries, might be considered as about equal to 100%. a year in this country. This was what the state of representation in that country had been, and even since the change that had taken place there, the utmost extent of any alteration that had been proposed was to change the 60l. a year to 40l., and to increase the number of the constituency No one could rejoice more to about 200,600. than he did at the victory that had been gained in that country, for he had looked upon it as being the means of preventing the nation from being trampled in the dust; but, with all the popular excitement that had followed upon that victory, no proposition to a greater extent, with respect to the Electoral Law, than that which he had already stated, had been made. Let none suppose that he proposed such a qualification as this for England; but he quoted it for the purpose of showing that those who were supposed to have the love of liberty most at heart, thought that property

ought to be the standard of the right of election. What he wanted was, liberty for all. (Loud cheers.) Let him take the liberty of alluding to the hon. Member for Preston. Not only were the observations which he made in that House unobjectionable, but many of them were extremely useful; and it must be extremely satisfactory to the people to find that they had such a representative in that House to state the grievances under which they supposed they laboured. Seeing this, it was impossible that they should shut their eyes to the importance of the English House of Commons. Any one who had seen the power that people of no property had over popular bodies. ought to see, that, without counterbalancing that power, the whole system would be changed. To form that counterbalance had been the system of the Government as yet; that had been the constitution of England hear, hear), and it was but shallow policy to look at it in any other way, If the acts of that House were stated to the people, he believed that they would be satisfied with them. If appeal was made to their acts alone, without superadding the excitement of those who what among them for the purpose of agitation, he believed that that would be the result. He would not say that those who thus agitated did not believe it to be their duty to do so; but it was, in fact, they who set in motion what it was now the fashion to call the voice of the people. (Hear, hear.) He had been always what was called a moderate reformer. He had never been able to bring his mind to vote for what was called a general measure on this subject, because he believed that such a general measure would be the means of altering the entire constitution. That large altering the entire constitution. That large manufacturing towns should be represented, was not only necessary to give satisfaction to the people, but would be useful in enabling the House the better to discharge its duty. With respect to Scotland, he had always thought that it ought to have a different mode of representation from the present; but, at the same time, that must be done without endangering what he called the practical constitution of England. But practical constitution of Eugland. when he said that the representation of Scotland wanted alteration, he must say that he confessed he believed that Scotland was virtually and really represented in that House. (Hear, hear.) He had never seen any Scotch question which had not been most puguaciously canvassed by the Members of that country. This was remarkably instanced in the case of the Scotch 11. note system. Scotch gentlemen had come spear in hand, ready for the attack, and had been quite competent to beat all the English and Irish gen-tlemen out of the field. Something had been said about remunerating proprietors for the loss of their boroughs; he was, however, not disposed to enter into that question at all; the view that he took of it was entirely in reference to the safety, policy, and expediency of the measure. He wished to know what great

advantage was to be derived from striking off those impure boroughs, as they were styled, and what advantage was to be got by leaving those sweet-scented places that were to be retained? He scarcely knew what was left to represent the people. He did not know how it was that the noble Lord, when he went on his reforming tour, did not stay at Tavistock, on his way to Callington. (Loud and continued cheers.) He was armed with an exterminating sword; but Tavistock was invulnerable. (Renewed cheers.) Since he was connected with Callington he knew of no moral offences, at least he could not complain of any, which had been committed in respect to its elections. He could safely deny that there was in it any-thing which could deserve the name of corruption. (Cheers.) He had not spent one shilling in all his elections that he would not readily submit an account of to the greatest purists on election matters who sat on the mountainous part of that side of the House. (Great cheers.) [The hon. Member spoke from the Ministerial side of the House.] His whole election bill did not exceed 1501., and that was wholly for things, every one of which he might have bought openly at Charing-Cross. He had been in his time returned for some populous places, and if he were to show the bills which he then paid, they would not place in a very high degree of respect those popular elections which were to be left by the noble Lord. It was in vain to deny that there were places under the influence of individual Peers, who returned whom they pleased, and the practice it was difficult to defend. When it was menwarm indignation, because it was necessary. That was a piece of indispensable hypocrisy; and yet, when stated to an unprejudiced man, something plausible might be said in its favour. It was not his intention, however, to defend it, but only to say, that the places which were to be left, and were to be odorous like the perfumes of Arabia, were not much better than boroughs. The open boroughs, which had more than four thousand inhabitants, were to be left with all their imperfections, except that of absent freemen. Why was the Reform not to extend to such places? (Hear, hear.) He wished to ask, too, how the merchant was to find access to the House? He could only come there by applying to some of those populous places which were so extravagant, and by which he would be very likely to get into The Gazette as a bankrupt. He contended that the present system worked well; and if it were wanted to introduce greater purity, why did the Ministers leave places to return Members with so few as 4,000 inhabitants. When boroughs were thrown open, would influence be diminished, or would the purity of boroughs be greater? When a gentleman now went to an open borough, what questions were asked? Were any

(Cheers.) If he had not been guilty of any great offence-if he were not branded with any unsightly mark, and would bleed freely, he was sure to succeed It was a species of cant to talk of the liberality and virtue of populous places; and it would not purify the election to descend to a lower class of voters. (Hear, hear.) He might perhaps complain of partiality; and it might be said, it had indeed been said, that Callington was on one side of the line and Tavistock on the other. (Cheers.) That was true; but who drew the line? (Cheers continued for a considerable time.) He did not wish, he did not mean, to make any personal allusions. Tavistock was somewhat larger than Callington; but they were both small towns in the same county, ten or twelve miles apart. He had received 200 votes, and the number of inhabitants was, he believed, upwards of 2,500. His noble Friend (Lord Althorp) saw that the owners of the nomination boroughs exercised an influence over the Treasury, and could command the Ministry. Whether Tavistock belonged to the Duke of Bedford or not, he would be able to influence it after the alterations as before. (Lord John Russell intimated some doubts.) If his noble Friend doubted this, he would ensure it for half-a-crown; and with his two Members for Tavistock and two for Bedford, which he might always command with common care (cheers), might he not still influence the Treasury? (Cheers,) Might be not knock loud at the Treasury doors? For himself he must say, that he had been many years a Member of Parliament, and he had never knocked at the Treasury door, nor had he received any favours, nor asked any at any time from any Administration. (Cheers.) Putting all these matters apart, the great question for the House to consider was, what errors were in the representation which might be corrected; putting out of view the fact of one place being overlooked, and another kept in view-of one being represented, and another not being represented-the real question for the House was, and he hoped Gentlemen would consider it well, what there was wrong in the proposition was, that it went to cut off all the lower classes from voting? He was as much as any man opposed to universal suffrage, but for the people to have a certain portion of influence in the elections was essential to the Constitution. The people now had such an influence, and every reform of an extensive nature, which did not greatly enlarge the representation, would be likely to do that away. It was a beneficial arrangement at present, which made all classes suppose they had a concern in the election. It was not the amount of wealth represented, it was not the number of people, it was the excitement of an election, the notice that they were represented, much beyond the reality, which made the present arrangement so beneficial. It was indispensable to the working of the Bill that inquiries made as to his political principles? indispensable to the working of the Bill that No; but what is the length of his purse? the low class of voters should be got rid of. It

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was, then, the disfranchisement, to a certain not see the great changes now proposed, extent, of the lower classes. (Hear, hear.) without alarm and concern. He believed, too, But with somewhat of inconsistency it was stated, that all the low class of voters now in existence were to be continued during their lives. No other alteration was to be made, it appeared, than to do away with the out voters during the lives of those who at present possessed the franchise. He wished to know, then, if it were not anticipated that great injury would accrue to the country from leaving these people in possession of their franchise during their lives? If danger were to be apprehended from allowing of the continuance of these low voters at the end, say of twenty years, how happened it that no danger was to be apprehended from them now? (Cheers.) If our safety was to be compromised at the end of twenty years, would it not be compromised before? There might be the same confusion now as hereafter. If it were not to be safe to take a lower qualification than 101. at the end of twenty years, was that safe now? lieved it would be the same at the end of ten or fifteen years as at the end of twenty years. Did we live then at a period so free from alarm and danger, that we could suppose no danger was now to ensue from leaving these low voters, and that it would ensue at the end of twenty years? The noble Lord, by his Bill, cashiered him (Mr. Baring), and if he had a seat in the House, he would bring in a Bill to cashier the noble Lord. (Laughter and cheers.) The Bill of the noble Lord created an entire change in the constitution; it was an entire change in the constitution of that House, and what were to be its consequences nobody could tell. The whole construction of the House was by this Bill changed, and thus was its anomalous nature laid open for the first time. He did not mean to say that the House was perfect in its construction; but he must say, of the alterations proposed, he could not see the necessity. (Cheers.) It was necessary to preserve the Government from falling altogether under the power of the people. It was said that the House was not popular; but if the impression had got abroad that persons came to that House to study their own private interests, and to enrich themselves at the expense of the public, whose fault was it? It was the fault of those who created the impression, and who excited the opinion. (Cheers.) If it were really the case that the House was unpopular; that it had lost the confidence of the people, it could not do that part of its duties which consisted in protecting the liberties of the people. It was necessary that the House should enjoy the confidence of the people to enable it to do its duties. To restore it to that confidence was the great difficulty, and till that was got over, its operations would be materially affected; but he would not consent to try and argue it by committing suicide. (Cheers.) It was necessary to state this difficulty, and necessary to state the danger he apprehended. If it were unfortunate that

without alarm and concern. He believed, too, that the sound mind of the country did not see these great changes without apprehension. Much was said of the enjoyments of the rich in this country; but those who had visited Paris and Belgium must know, that there the misery of the people was extreme; that their distress was great; and that the people were demanding work and bread. The lower classes, who demanded these changes, would be the first to suffer by them; and they, therefore, must be weaned from these errors, by the more intelligent classes. He had not met with one single person who did not feel apprehensions from this measure. They did not foresee what was likely to be its consequences. They said it came from the King and from the Government, and they conclude that it must be wise, and they place confidence in the Government. Some persons, of a more ardent and a bolder disposition, who speculated on consequences, were not without fear, because they could not speculate with any certainty as to its probable results. If they asked why the measure was necessary, they were answered that there was danger in withholding it, because the excitement was so great. If it were not granted, it was said there would be a revolution. Why should there be this excitement; and would it exist if his right honourable friends took pains to quiet the minds of the people? (Long and loud cheers.) He did not mean that they had excited the agitation by any improper means, but when they announced a measure from the Crown, was it likely that the people would be satisfied with the constitution? (Hear, hear.) He must express his great regret that this question had been agitated When it was first mentioned, he supposed it would be some moderate reform, and he was astonished when he found it such a reform as to surprise, by its extent and by its surpassing his hopes, the honourable Member for Preston. He had great confidence in the talents of his Majesty's Ministers, great confidence in their integrity and honour, but he could not reconcile it to his conscience not to speak plain and openly against this measure. (Great cheering.) This is a very imperfect outline of what Mr. Baring said, for a great part of his speech was inaudible in the gallery.

Viscount PALMERSTON. In the greater part of what the hon. Gentleman said in the early part of his speech, he cordially concurred. He concurred with him in thinking that this was one of the most important subjects that ever was agitated in parliament. He agreed with him that it was distinguished from all other measures, because most of the consequences could be calculated; but this measure could be tried by no test borrowed from experience. (Hear, hear, hear.) It must influence the character of the Government and the legislature in all future time, opinion demanded great changes, he could and impress its influence on the whole frame

tance; and if he should undervalue it, he would be incompetent to discharge the duties of his office. He must be a bold or a very unshrinking man who did not contemplate the measure with the deepest solicitude and the greatest anxiety, who could calmly and carelessly look at a measure calculated to effect a great change in the character and constitution of the House of Commons-a House of Commons, which, in spite of its defects, had for many years contributed so effectually to promote the happiness of the people. (Hear, hear.) He would be unfit for his duties, and unequal to the present crisis, who could look at a measure of that nature without being convinced that it demanded the most calm reflection. A love of change and a fondness for political experiment were not characteristic of the people of England. They were, on the contrary, remarkable for a tenacious adherence to the institutions of their ancestors, and their aversion to innovations. They formed a striking contrast to their neighbours on the continent, to whom allusion had been made, and who boasted of the newness of their institutions, while the English were proud of the antiquity of theirs. In general it had been found difficult to effect the changes that were recommended by the greatest advantages. These laws, which posterity would regard as the finest monuments of legislative wisdom, were only wrung from the reluctant people of England after many a hard-fought battle. The laws which restored the Catholics to the constitution, and the laws which put an end to the traffic in flesh and blood, were only carried after a contest of many years. The public voice now called for a change-it demanded innovation -and this had not been brought about by any long--winded orators; it was the calm and steady determination of the intelligent and well-informed people of the Empire. They saw that the change was reasonable-they saw that there were practical evils in the present constitution of the parliament, and they sought a practical remedy. The hon. Gentleman said that his right hon. Friends might restore the country to quiet, and make the agitation cease. (Hear, hear.) He said that if the Government, and the Press, and the public would cease the agitation, we might retain our constitution; but might not the hon, Gentleman suppose, when the Goverument, and the Press, and the public were all united, that his own opinion was fallacious? (Hear, hear, bear.) Public opinion called for a change. (Hear, hear! no, no.) he were asked for a proof of it, he would refer to the fact, that the right hon. Gentlemen opposite were sitting there, while he and his friends were sitting on the seats they occu-pied. The rock the Gentlemen opposite split on was a rash neglect of public opinion. ago, the conviction on this subject, which was (Cheers.) They had been buoyed up with now so general, had been permitted to enter confidence in their own powers. They spread the minds of the Members of that House; if abroad all the canvass of patronage. (N), three years ago, when the great unrepresented

of society. He could not describe its impor- no.) They thought to defy the gale of public opinion, but it wrecked and dismantled them. The besetting sin of the last Administration was a disregard of public opinion, both at home and abroad. (Hear, bear, and no, no.) That error had been fatal to themselves, and, not only to themselves, but to others. It had set all Europe in a flame. (No, no, from the opposition, and cheers from the Ministerial side.) He said yes-it was his belief that they imagine that few men in anthority would be able to overrale public opinion, and stifle the strongest feelings of mankind, and this opinion of theirs had led to the most disa-trous results, and produced that poverty and distress which had been adverted to. It was only by the resolution of his Majesty's Ministers since the Government had been changed that serious evils had been averted from this country. He would only refer to the state of this country in the month of November last, and ask what it now was; and ask if Ireland would now have been tranquil, except-from the measures of his noble Friend at the head of the Home Department? He would suppose that the late Ministers had remained in office, and that they had adopted all the measures for tranquillizing Ireland which had been adopted by the new Ministers; and he would then affirm that they could not have succeeded, because they had not the confidence of the country. (Cheers ) Not having public opinion with them, their best resolutions would have been paralysed. It was this strong expression of public opinion that made a chauge necessary, and that forced the House to consider and devise measures to cure the defects in our representation, and win back the confidence of the people. It was asked whence sprung this great desire for change? What had caused this rapid growth of a wish for reform? He would answer, it was not from any intrigue of individuals, and not from any ordinary election manœuvres. But when almost every respectable man in the country was convinced that some reform had become necessary-and when laying aside their hereditary reverence for the sanctity of the constitution, they came forward to demand a change of ancient institutions, it was impossible not to feel that some other course was become desirable. It was true that there were some in the country and in that House, who thought that things should remain as they are, and who wished for no change; and there were many others who would now be willing to make some concessions, when an occasion offered for its being done in the way they desired it, or who would wait till they were driven to the necessity of reform, by the impossibility of continuing to resist the voice of those who demanded it. (Hear.) The time, however, was now gone by when such views could be safely entertained. If, three years

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towns demanded the concession of their political right to return Members to the Commons' House of Parliament; if, at that period, the Legislature had permitted itself to be influenced by those impressions, which were now acknowledged to be so general; if the Government, instead of drawing nice equations of Parliamentary interest, and balancing with dexterity between contending classes, had condescended to attend to the claims then put forth; if the cry for reform, even on so limited a scale, had then received the attention which it deserved, he was confident that the House would not at that moment have been occupied with discussing that large and more comprehensive constitutional change, proposed to the House by the Paymaster of the Forces, under the sanction of the Ministers of the Crown. (Hear, hear.) He (Lord Palmerston) had supported the proposition for giving representatives to those towns, because he considered the principle which it involved was a wise, a just, and a salutary one, and because he felt, that if it was refused, they would speedily be compelled to give much more than the House was then called on to concede. His predictions were, at that time, condemned and disregarded; and the consequence was, that they were now placed in that very situation which he had warned them would be the consequence of the course they adopted. (Hear.) For reasons precisely similar to those which induced him to vote for the limited reform then proposed, he was now prepared to support that larger and more ample change of the system of representation on which they were about to pronounce an opinion. Taunts had, in the course of the discussion, been unsparingly thrown out against some of those who supported the present measure, and who were, like him, admirers of Mr. Pitt, that they had abandoned the principles that great man professed, and which they made the guide of their political career. (Hear) Events might, he thought, have saved the admirers of Mr. Pitt from a charge of this kind, and taught those who accused them to form a humbler and juster estimate of the value of political consistency. He should have thought that they might have found by examples, the merit of which he would be the last man in the country to contemn, that a public man might change his opinions without being influenced by any grosser motive than the honourable and truly noble desire to promote the good and the welfare of his country. (Hear, hear.) He should have thought that they might have been taught, by experience, ou more points than one, that a public man should not carry the puerile vanity of consistency on one subject to an extent which would endanger the safety e time, of the greater and more important interests that are mixed up with the relations come years ich was mitted to his care. (Hear, hear.) Of Mr. enter Canning he entertained as high an opinion as any of those who professed to be guided by his escuted sentiments, or to follow his dictation; but he

would tell those who attempted to point out the particular policy adopted by Mr. Canning, from quotations culled out of speeches delivered at particular times, and in support of peculiar opinions, that they were ill able to fa: hom the mind of the man from whom they emanated. If ever there was a man who took a large and enlightened view of public events and public policy, that man was Mr. Canning. If ever there was a statesman who polarised his public course by an extended and liberal principle of action, and whose gigantic views it was impossible to bow down to any of the ordinary Lilliputian comprehensions of his species, that man was Mr. Canning; and he was satisfied, that had he lived to mark the signs of the present times, and to bring his great and comprehensive intellect to an examination of the difficulties ao be overcome, he would have been as ardent a supporter of the measures now proposed by the Government, as any of the friends he saw around him. (Hear, hear.) If any man wanted a real key to the opinions and policy of Mr. Canning, he would find it in the memorable speech delivered in the month of February, 1826, on the question of the proposed alteration in the Silk Trade, and particularly in that concluding sentence, where he declares, in elegant and emphatic language, "That those who resist improvements because they consider them to be innovations, may be at last compelled to accept innovations when they have ceased to be improvements." (Hear.) The course to be adopted in the year 1828, if they had yielded to the demands of the great manufacturing towns, was simple and easy. The course to be followed in the year 1831 was, from the change of circumstances and of times, more difficult and complicated. In the one case, a partial reform might have been tolerated-in the other, nothing but a general and comprehensive change in the system of representation will be accepted. (Hear.) That which might have been given piecemeal and by degrees in 1828, ceased to be possible now, and there was no alternative left to them but the course the Government had adopted. There were some, he knew, who called the present reform by the name of revolution. There were others, be believed, who thought that it fell far short of what the people were entitled to demand; but he was convinced that all educated and intelligent men, who admitted the importance of preserving and consolidating the constitutional institutions, would be satisfied that the p'an now proposed was well adapted to the end which all had in view. (Hear.) Any man who looked at the workings of the present system must see that there were five great and peculiar blemishes, which it was necessary to remove, in order to fit it for the intelligence and feelings of the times in which they lived. The first of these was the system of nomination by the patrons of boroughs; the gross and barefaced corruption which prevails among the lower classes, when their votes become necessary to the higher; the

tion with respect to the great manufacturing and commercial towns, the great expense of elections, and the very unequal and unjust distribution of the power of voting among the middle and lower classes. The plan then before the house applied to all these defects, and he was convinced that, if calmly and dispassionately examined, there was not an evil they generated, for which it did not provide a sure and effectual remedy. (Hear.) It was impossible to contend that the principle of returning members at the command of a nominee was consistent with that theory of the constitution by which that House was declared the representative of the people of England. He did not mean to deny that some advantages were occasionally derived from this most objectionable practice. Men of splendid talents and great capacity had, he admitted, entered that House through such means, when no others were open to them, and although elected under a system in which popular rights had no share, he did not mean to deny that the people had suffered from that circumstance, for many of those so nominated had become their warmest champions and their most distinguished supporters. He admitted, therefore, the force of the inference derived from this source; but when he found how impossible it was to maintain in argument the practice of such nominations as consistent with the theory of a representative govern-ment, he was compelled to declare that no plan of reform would be perfect or effective without the thorough and effective disfranchisement of all the boroughs which poses-sed this privilege. (Hear, hear.) Without that disfranchisement, indeed, it would be impossible to carry the plan of Reform into effect, for how else were they to provide for the great commercial and manufacturing towns, those representatives, which all now admitted it was necessary to concede to them? That House was already sufficiently numerous, perhaps too numerous for the convenient dispatch of public business, and unless they took from the close boroughs the members which they were about to bestow on the counties, and the large unrepresented towns, they must add to the evil which is felt and acknowledged. The hon. Member for Callington (Mr. Baring) said that the principle of the plan was bad, because it took population for its basis. He denied that it did so. They took property as the basis of the measure, and population as the rule for disfranchisement. The Member for Callington, in speaking of the rule adopted with respect to disfranchisement, and in ob serving on the line which the Government had drawn with respect to the population of the close boroughs, seemed to intimate that what had been done was meant with a view to protect particular boroughs, and to maintain un-touched the political influence of certain powerful families. (Hear, hear.) If he (Lord Palmerston) thought the hon, member for Callington really intended to cast such an im-

absence of all adequate balances of representa- putation on the conduct and motives of the members of the Government, he certainly should, for one, be hence forward to entertain less deference for his opinions than he had hitherto paid him on subjects of greater weight than that they were now considering. He had, however, a triumphant answer for all that had been said or insinuated on that subject, for the borough of Tavistock had a population by more than 1000 above the line they had drawn as the standard of disfranchisement; and, still further to relieve the mind of his honourable Friend the Member for Callington, from the suspicion that the Government were guilty of sauctioning a proceeding (to which he would not attach the proper expression,) he could inform him, that there were twenty-five boroughs inferior to Tavistock in point of population, but yet included in the number of those which retained the privilege of returning a Member to that House. (Hear, hear.) The object the Government (Hear, hear.) The object the Government had in view in this disfranchisement was, first to give Representatives to the great manufacturing towns; and next, to add to the respectability of the electors, and to increase the number of those who claim to enjoy the right of choosing their representatives. In doing so, they disclaimed any intention to sever the ties which bind together the middle classes and the aristocracy. (Hear.) On the contrary, it was their earnest desire to increase, rather than to diminish, that influence - an influence arising from good conduct and propriety of demeanour on the one side, and respect and deference on the other; and which was as honourable to those who exercised it, as to those who acknowledged its authority. The measure before the House was not intended to affect this power, for it give additional reasons for supporting and defending it; but it was intended to destroy that corrupt influence which destroys all public principle, and debases the state of every class of society wherever it has existence. When, however, the hon, member for Callington contended that the measure had in reality put an end to all the power of the aristocracy, he (Lord Palmerston) was not called on to answer him, for he had sup-plied an answer to himself. The hon. Memplied an answer to himself. ber seemed to forget, that in the arguments he used to prove that the Duke of Bedford would enjoy the same political influence as he did before, he also asserted, as a proof of the inefficacy of the working of the new system, that he would enjoy just the same extent of nomination and authority in his borough of Callington as he at present possessed. (Hear, hear.) Now that was the true view of the operations of the plan before the House. contended that property, rank, and respectability would still maintain the same influence in the representation-an influence of which he should be the last man to deprive it, but which was now not to be maintained in the present state of society independent of good conduct, morality, and intelligence. It was the possession of those qualities, united with

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so far from its being a ground of objection, he thought it one of the greatest benefits they could confer on that House and the country. (Hear.) The effect of the plan will be, by admitting householders paying a certain rent, l to include a vast proportion of the more respectable of the middle classes of the country; and although an hon, and learned Friend of his (Mr. Twiss) had been pleased to make himself exceedingly merry at the expense of these middle classes (hear), of shopkeepers and attorneys, and members of clubs at publichouses-(No, and hear)-He did not quote from memory, he took down the words, and he repeated them. The hon. Member did not explain in what repect the potwallopers and voters of the rotten burghs, whose rights he was so anxious to preserve, were superior to the attorneys and the shopkeepers. (Hear.) The hon, member for Callington had called the plan defective, because it admitted the potwallopers to exercise their rights at that moment, and took them away some ten or twenty years hence. His answer to that was, that the government feared no danger which could make it inexpedient to leave with those persons the rights they at present enjoyed. They included among the voters the great majority of the respectable among the middle classes, and that, secure in the support which this will procure them, they do not feel it necessary to make the disfranchisement more extensive than may be necessary to effect that object of binding closer the ties which should bind the middle classes to the State; and he would add, notwithstanding all the taunts with which that class might be assailed, that there never was a time when it contained so many men of intelligence and character-when its opinious were more entitled to confidence and respect (hear), or its Members more distinguished by morality and good conduct-by obedience to the laws-by the love of orderby attachment to the throne, and the constitution. In case of need, he sincerely believed they would be equally distinguished by devotion to their country (hear); and this was one great reason with him for conceding to them their political rights, of which they had been too long deprived. After observing that the Bill would put an end to all purchasing of seats and trafficking in votes, the noble Lord proceeded to observe, that the argument used for refusing Representatives to some of the great towns was, as he understood it, that they were at present virtually represented. He would oppose that argument by the converse of the proposition, and ask those who contended that the large towns were virtually represented in the smaller ones, why the small ones might not now content themselves

rank and station, which now commanded ad-

miration and respect; and if the measure ex-

cluded all influence not founded on this basis,

of virtual representation was, however, not suited to the times, nor to the question before the House. The advantage of the present method of representation did not consist in the fact that there were 658 Members of intelligence and ability, but that they were elected by a number of constituents as the Representatives of a number of different interests. If it were possible by any miracle to collect together an equal number of even more able and more intelligent men, still it would not be a House of Commons, because its Members could not possess that sympathy of feelings, and that community of interests, which exist between the Representative and the Represented. Under the Repreand the Represented. sentative System, if a House of Commons should by any means happen to be in advance of the knowledge of the time and of public opinion, they are the more disposed to submit to the decrees of those who have previously been intrusted with their confidence, from a full conviction of their honour and integrity. This state of connection, indeed, infuses greater confidence on the one side, and greater security of sway on the other; and the more so, from the periodical returns of the time when it is their duty to give an account of the manner in which they have performed their trust. The noble Lord then proceeded to observe, that the plan now proposed went to restore to the landed interest that influence which he thought indispensable to the safety and prosperity of the country, by giving fifty-five members to the counties, and still further, by conferring votes on copyholders, and not permitting those who had votes for towns to enjoy the same privilege in counties. He looked, indeed, on the increase of the members for counties as the surest and most stable basis of representation; for, without meaning to disparage the manufacturing or commercial interests, he must say, that he considered the soil to be the country itself. The member for Callington had observed that it was not morality, or good conduct, or public spirit, which governed these elections, but the length of a purse. (Hear.) This was the This was very evil the bill was intended to cure. Many a man of integrity and intellect was com-pelled to retire in the middle of a county contest, because his fortune would not permit him to keep the poll open fourteen days, and pay the expense of post-horses; and that great practical grievance would now be re-moved. The great merit of the bill, in his opinion, was, that it altered the distribution of political power, and restored the constitution, by placing the middle classes in that condition to which they were entitled, and which was most likely to prove advantageous to themselves and to the community. (Hear.) There were men, he knew, who thought that public opinion should be cast out of consideration in wit a similar advantage? (Hear, hear.) If the management of the machinery of the nathat point was put to the vote, he believed he tion, and who were opposed to all change, should be sure of a majority. The doctrine because they believed that the House of Commons could carry on the affairs of the country with as much success, in defiance of that public, as with its utmost concurrence and assistance. He trusted, however, that of those who did entertain that opinion, there would not on that occasion be found a majority in the House; for, if there was, he believed the consequences of their determination would prove most unfortunate for their country. (Hear.) Those who thought that thrones were secure, in proportion as they possessed the affections and the respect of those they were called on to rule, and that nations were powerful by the community of feeling, and community of interests which bound them together, would, he was satisfied, give their cordial and unqualified support to the proposition of his noble Friend, and he had nothing further to say, than that he earnestly hoped, in the decision they were shortly about to come to, that the voices of such men would prevail. (Loud cheers.)

# FRANCE.

# To the Editor of THE REGISTER.

Paris, 11 March, 1831.

SIR, I should think you hardly desire to hear any of the rumours with regard to a new ministry here, for the arrangement of the government seems to be a matter of no interest with the people themselves. Very little good is expected from any individual, whatever his name may be, as, hitherto, the professions of every person and every party, so soon as they have arrived at power, have

who caused the appointment of Louis. Philippe, that those of them who be-came his ministers shall not possess the The whole of the power. On the other hand, why did these men elect his Majesty; why did they make such a glory tribes of their choice, if his office were to be Court such, that any log could fill it? Human which nature itself revolts against the idea of such a mockery; and I think it cannot be denied, that Louis-Philippe would, say, t indeed, show that want of firmness the which is insinuated against him, if he this go did not use the power which has been civil placed in his hands: that he does show that, if firmness cannot be questioned, when he which resists the desire of the whole nation, nation, urged by the most numerous and and the powerful motives, for war; at the same until time that his judgment cannot be hood, called in question by those who elected him, because his resistance is one in which they most cordially and desorbard of bard perately support him. Louis-Philippe possible having been elected by the fundholders, he fulfils his mission of pre a subj serving the interests of his con may ar stituents; but, the ambitious and render inconsistent part of these constituents, who would mix patriotic professions with their way of life of negotians which in itself implies the total absence of liberty for the people, are despotised in horizon and a real King. disappointed in having got a real King this fin

soon as they have arrived at power, have been forgotten. It seems that there is one point at present at issue, with the King; namely, whether he shall actually assist at the council upon all occasions, and it is said that M. Casimir-Perrier, being invited to form a ministry, to the expulsion, of course, of M. Lafitte as president of the council, has made it a condition that the King should not preside. This has been rejected by the King; but most parties seem to endeavour to get rid of the practice; and the moderate politicians propose that the ministers should be left to themselves, except once a week, perhaps, when the King should preside at his council. In short, it appears that M. Lafitte, though first minister, is not the main person in the government, and that it is contrary to the desires of those rich individuals The news from Poland keeps thing the gove

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are themselves the cause which has been in designed and connives at the progress of barbarism, and which might very lippe fund. It has for several days actually been pre- a subject of conversation, that there

con may arise circumstances which would and render it wise to remove the seat of stitugovernment to Tours. This is a pretty
propass to be come to, after seven months
life of negotiation, while all the time the
total people have been sighing to drive away
le, are despotism off the face of the earth. That King this fine city should be abandoned by thing the government which it created, and drum into whose hands it showered such imcappel mense means of acting upon the well-

think that they apprehended an infliction being furnished by the people, to be of the knowt, at least, by the orders of employed as machines by any govern-

So far, however, from the Russians government, seem disposed to defend entering France, and the French having the autocrat against the "bloody dia-lory tribes," as they call them, of the English likely go to meet them, and prevent the Courses; the disrespectful language of the necessity of any defence, by attack, man which towards the imperial person ap- however irregular it may be. One is pears to them surprising. These jour-nals seem to wish to be understood to half, say, that if the government of which ledge, and who say that the French ness the Courier is the organ, would join troops are all raw; and it is enough to f he this government, that then the cause of disgust you to hear the slang, that they been "civilization" might be supported : so would "get preciously licked." Why, that, at last, civilization waits for that the Poles, who, compared to the French, which the stock-jobbing system dreads: are also barbarians, have literally mowtion, pational faith, freedom of commerce, ed down with their scythes the "heroes and those fine things which are cited of the Balkan;" these "heroes," though they have overcome the irrational animals who were supported only by infatuation, now approach men who are encouraged by the hope, real or imaginary, of liberty, with terror and amazement; as appears manifestly enough by the fact, that, in spite of the whipping and beating by which they are propelled, they prefer fighting with cannon, in order to avoid coming to close quarters.

Thus, there is not much to fear from the anger of the despots, if they should, in their rage and folly, advance towards this country; but, for the security, it must be allowed that this government is wholly dependent on the good-will of the people. However, so far from taking the proper precautions for declieved inderstood principles which ought to cannot say, that the government think they as the could maintain themselves at Tours before etter than Paris; for they must know of the erfectly well, that it is not walls of a Wed arth or stone upon which they must enture ely; but, it was the chat, after the mbasse ews of the danger to Varsovy, "Where the latt we go to if the Russians visit us?" by my robably, a conscientious conviction acy no lat the Parisians may not be depended Must have go to if the Russians visit us?" by my robably, a conscientious conviction acy no lat the Parisians may not be depended Must have go to if the Russians visit us?" by my robably, a conscientious conviction acy no lat the Parisians may not be depended Must have go to if the Russians visit us?" by my robably, a conscientious conviction acy no lat the Parisians may not be depended Must have go to if the Russians visit us?" by my robably, a conscientious conviction acy no lat the Parisians may not be depended Must have go to if the Russians visit us?" by my robably, a conscientious conviction acy no lat the Parisians may not be depended Must have go to if the Russians visit us?" by my robably, a conscientious conviction acy no lat the Parisians may not be depended Must have go to if the Russians visit us?" by my robably, a conscientious conviction acy no lat the Parisians may not be depended Must have go to if the Russians visit us?" by my robably, a conscientious conviction acy no lat the Parisians may not be depended Must have go to if the Russians visit us?" by my robably, a conscientious conviction acy no lat the Parisians may not be depended Must have go to if the Russians visit us?" by my robably, a conscientious conviction acy no lat the Parisians may not be depended Must have go to if the Russians visit us?" by my robably, a conscientious conviction acy no lat the Parisians may not be depended Must have go to if the Russians visit us?" by my robably, a consciention of the rush have go to if taking the proper precautions for deupon the sort of anarchy which there must be in the government: if an important appointment such as this is made contrary to the advice of the minister whose department it is to direct it, because the person appointed is a favourite at court, this is the true, thorough-bred old régime, revived under the name of popular monarchy!

I have just heard, that about two hundred of the young men, enlisted immediately after the Revolution, and who were sent to this part of France, and who have, during the winter, been very assiduous in their duties, and have been animated by the hopes of a campaign for the spring, have returned to their homes. Their story is, that they had been desired to sign their engagement: they said, that as they were volunteers, they would not sign; so that, they had three sous per lieue given them to find their way back. They say that, as to billets on the road, or lodging, they got it in some places; but that, in others, the maires had the drapeau blanc in the belly, and that there they got nothing. These lads think that they were got rid of, on account of a no-great liking in their officers to the epoch during which they were enrolled. As to war, it is no longer talked of, they say.

Yesterday was the day of "micarême," a great day, and something like a repetition of the carnival. As it happened, the news from Poland occupied several hundreds of young men during this day of recreation, with matter for a solemn procession of mourn-They carried several tri-coloured ing. banners, covered with black crape, and visited the Palais Royal and other places. At the Palais Royal they uttered cries that they would go to Poland; several hard things were shouted respecting the deputies, and, what was more serious than words, it was feared, I believe, that they would go to the prison St. Pelagie, to liberate the political prisoners; at the same time, that these prisoners are said to have protested against the proceedings which were taking against them, on the score of their informality: be it as it will,

strong bodies of national-guard and troops of the line were stationed in the neighbourhood of the prison.

The dissolution of the Chamber is rather a question, for the moment: but I believe it will be dissolved before long, unless foreign affairs take such a turn as to make it dangerous for the tranquillity of the country. It is not expected that the change which is to take place in the ministry will be favourable to the liberty of individuals; and it is giving the new ministry too much credit beforehand to expect that their foreign policy will be either more open or more vigorous than that of the present. It is quite amusing to see the Carlists complaining of violations of laws, of domiciliary visits, and talking of the Habeas Corpus Act; however, they may congratulate themselves, that the domiciliary visits, the rummaging of papers which take place in their houses, and the arrests of their persons and violations of seals of their letters, or of those of their friends found upon them, are conducted with a degree of rigour which gives less cause for alarm for the liberty of the subject, than that which is exercised against their declared opponents. I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant, WM. COBBETT, Jun,

#### SEEDS

For Sale at my Shop, Bolt-court, Fleetstreet, London.

at 6s. a pound, received from America about two months ago. For instructions relative to sowing of these seeds, for rearing the plants, for making plantations of them, for preparing the land to receive them, for the after cultivation, for the pruning, and for the application of the timber; for all these see my "WOOD-LANDS;" or TREATISE ON TIMBER TREES AND UNDERWOOD. Svo. 14s.

quantity under 10lbs. 10d. a pound; any quantity above 10lbs. and under 761

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50lbs.9\(\frac{1}{2}\)d. a pound; any quantity above 50lbs. 9d. a pound; above 100lbs.  $8\frac{1}{2}d$ . A parcel of seed may be sent to any part of the kingdom; I will find proper bags, will send it to any coach or van or wagon, and have it booked at my expense; but the money must be paid at my shop before the seed be sent away; in consideration of which I have made due allowance in the price. If the quantity be small, any friend can call and get it for a friend in the country; if the quantity be large, it may be sent by me. seed was growed last year at Barn-Elm, on ridges six feet apart; two rows, a foot apart, on each ridge. The plants were raised from seed COBBETT'S CORN -Having to quit given me by Mr. Peppercorn (of Southwell, Bedfordshire), in 1823. He gave it me as the finest sort that he had ever seen. I raised some plants (for use) in my garden every year; but, at Barn-Elm I raised a whole field of it, and had 320 bushels of seed upon 13 acres of land. pledge my word, that there was not one single turnip in the whole field (which bore seed) not of the true kind. There was but one of a suspicious look; and that one I pulled up and threw away. So that I warrant this seed as being perfectly true, and as having proceeded from plants with small necks and greens, and with that reddish tinge round the collar which is the sure sign of the best sort.

MANGEL WURZEL SEED. - Any quantity under 10lb., 7 d. a pound; any quantity above 10lb. and under 50lb., 7d. a pound; any quantity above 50lb.,  $6\frac{1}{2}d$ . a pound; any quanabove 100lb., 6d. a pound. The selling at the same place as above; the payment in the same This seed was also grown manner. at Barn-Elm farm, the summer before the last. It is a seed which is just as good at ten years old as at one. - The plants were raised in seed-beds in 1828; they were selected, and those of the deepest red planted out in a field of 13 acres, which was admired by all who saw it, as a most even, true and beautiful field of the kind. The crop was very large; and out of it were again selected the plants from which my present stock of seed was growed; though, indeed, there was little room for selection, where all were so good and true. got my seed from Mr. Pym, of Reigate, who raised it from plants proceeding from seed that I had given him, which seed I had raised as Worth, in Sussex; and, all the way through, the greatest care had been taken to raise seed from no plant of a dubious character. - This seed, therefore, I warrant as the very best of the kind.

my farm at Michaelmas, I could have no Corn there; but, at Kensington, I have had the finest crop I ever saw, The Tom Tir has said, that it is "u complete failure," and a great bleating beast, that is now laughed at by all the world, has been bawling about Lancashire, that this corn is " not fit " for a hog to eat, though I want the " poor people to live on it." answer to poor envious Tommy Tit is given by the beautiful crop that I have now on sale as seed. The answer to the malignant bleating beast might be given in one very short word. The great use of this corn is to the labourers. On ten rods of ground I have, this very adverse year, growed eight bushels of shelled corn , and that is sufficient to fat a pig of seven or eight score. Suppose the like comes, on an average, from 20 rods, is not this a great blessing for a labouring man? in this light that I have always viewed this corn as of the greatest importance. I have a room at Bolt Court, hung all over the walls with bunches of it. Those bunches would fat a good large hog; and I never look at it without most anxiously hoping to see the day, when the greater pure of English labourers' dwellings will be decorated in the same manner. The thing to do is to distribute a little seed amongst the labourers. In the Two-Penny Trash for April, I will give them instructions for the plantof this corn. I should be glad to cause to be distributed, 200 ears of the corn amongst the labourers of each of the counties of Berks, Bucks, Wilts, Hants, Sussex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Essex, Cambridge, Lincoln, Huntingdon, and Gloucester, as a mark of my wish to see them once more have bacon to eat instead of accursed potatoes, and 500 ears amongst those of the county of Kent, as a mark of my particular regard for the labourers of that famous county, the first that was trodden by the feet of the saints, and that never was trodden under the hoof of a conqueror. I do not know very well how to accomplish this distribution. If any gentleman, whom I know, in each of the aforesaid counties, will undertake the distribution, I will give him the ears for the purpose, and a Twopenny Trash (containing the instructions) along with each ear of corn. I SELL THE CORN AT MY SHOP IN BOLT-COURT, AT 1s. A BUNCH OF FINE EARS, SIX IN NUMBER; and the Book, on the cultivation and uses of it, at 2s. 6d.; which is called a TREATISE on COB-BETT'S CORN.

### From the LONDON GAZETTE.

FRIDAY, MARCH 11, 1831.

### INSOLVENTS.

MARCH 10. - BURRINGTON, G., Stock

Exchange, stock-broker.

MARCH 10.—COOPER, J. D. and C. K.,

Woodeaves, Derbyshire, cotton-spinners. MARCH 9 .- GREASLEY, T. and C., West Smithfield, clothiers

MARCH 10 .- LITTLE, W., Macclesfield-st. North, City-road, tea-dealer.

#### BANKRUPTS.

BROMWICH, H., Newgate-market, carcassbutcher.

BOWMAN, B. and W. Thompson, Commercial-road, colour-manufacturers.

DEBATT, F. J., Poultry, pastry-cook. FROST, T., Vine-street, Waterloo-road, Lambeth, miller.

VEAL, J., Fordingbridge, Hampshire, draper. ARMSTRONG, J., Raskelf, Yorkshire, miller. 10N, G., Great Musgrave, Westmoreland,

inn-keeper.

ing and management and application NORRIS, E. and T. W. Hodgson, Manchester-cotton-spinners. WEBSTER, J., Leeds, dyer.

TUESDAY, MARCH 15, 1831.

#### INSOLVENT.

MARCH 12 .- DANSON, H. W., Bristol, merchant.

### BANKRUPTS.

ANDREW, W., Shrewsbury, mercer. BROWN, T., Kingston-upon-Hull, scrivener. BLOXAM, T., Hinckley, Leicesters., surgeon. DODS, W. and R. Moore, Percy-street, Tottenham-court-road, linen drapers.

GEORGE, R., Parker-street, Drury-laue, stage coach-maker.

HANCOCK, T. H., Brighton, inn-keeper, HOLDEN, R., W. Vanhouse, & W.A. Hankey, jun., Mincing-lane, West India brokers.

LAYZELL, W., Colchester, linen-draper. LUCK, T.P., West-lane, Walworth, laceman. MORGAN, J., Moor-lane, Fore-st., victualler. SHILLIBEER, G., Bury-street, Bloomsbury, livery stable-keeper.

WAKEFIELD, J., Hinckley, Leicestershire, grocer.

# WYTHES, R. and W., Birmingham, grocers. LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, MARCH 14. We have a short supply of English Wheat, and there is a moderate demand at last week's prices for this article of Grain. Barley is heavy, and the quotation is generally from 1s. to 2s. per quarter cheaper than we last quoted. Oats remain without any alteration from this day week. In Beaus there is rather more demand for old, but new Beans remain, with little inquiry, at last week's prices. White Peas may be quoted 2s. per quarter cheaper with a dull trade. Flour remains as we last

| luoteu.         |              |
|-----------------|--------------|
| Wheat           | 74s. to 78s. |
| Rye             | 30s. to 34s. |
| Barley          | 36s. to 38s. |
| fine            | 42s. to 46s. |
| Peas, White     | 38s. to 40s. |
| Boilers         | 44s. to 48s. |
| Grey            | 36s, to 40s. |
| Beans, Small    | 40s. to 42s. |
| —— Tick         | 32s. to 36s. |
| Oats, Potatoe   |              |
|                 | 26s. to 27s. |
| Feed            | 22s. to 24s. |
| Flour, per sack | ous. to 65s. |

#### PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new, 44s. to 48s. per cwt. - Sides, new . . . 43s. to 48s.

Pork, India, new.. 110s. 0d.

Pork, Mess, new... 55s. to 57s.6d. per barl. Butter, Belfast .... 98s. to 100s. per cwt.

Carlow ..... 95s. to 104s.

Cork...... 97s. to 98s. Limerick ... 97s, to 98s, Waterford. . 90s. to 94s.

Dublin ....-s. to -s.

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Cheese, Cheshire .... 40s. to 70s.

Gloucester, Double. . 48s. to 56s. Gloucester, Single...44s. to 50s.

 Edam ..... 40s. to 46s. Gouda ..... 42s. to 46s.

Hams, Irish .... 45s. to 56s.

#### SMITHFIELD-March 14.

In the Beef trade prime young Scots sell at 4s. 4d. to 4s. 8d. per stone. Mutton, for the best young Downs, fetches 5s. to 5s. 4d. per stone, and coarser sheep are 4s. to 4s. 6d. per In Veal, the finest young Calves are worth 5s. 6d. to 6s. per stone, and dairy-fed Porkers are quoted at 4s. 6d. to 5s. per stone. Beasts, 2,455; Sheep, 16,440; Calves, 102; Pigs, 140.

## THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent. | Fri. | Sat. | Mon. | Tues. | Wed. | Thur. Cons. Ann. \$ | 75\frac{2}{8} |

## MARK-LANE.-Friday, March 18.

The supplies are very small, but the prices remain the same as on Monday.

the same ... English arrivals. Foreign. Irish.

Flour 1,260 Wheat . . 7,430

Barley . . . 810 Oats . .

Just published, Price 4s. 6d., extra boards,

# JOURNAL

# A TOUR IN ITALY,

#### AND ALSO IN PART OF FRANCE AND SWITZERLAND;

The route being

From Paris, through Lyons, to Marseilles, and, thence, to Nice, Genoa, Pisa, Florence, Rome, Naples, and Mount Vesuvius;

By Rome, Terni, Perugia, Arezzo, Florence, Bologna, Ferrara, Padua, Venice, Verona, Milan, over the Alps by Mount St. Bernard, Geneva, and the Jura, back into France

The space of time being, From October 1828, to September 1829.

#### CONTAINING

A description of the country, of the principal cities and their most striking curiosities; of the climate, soil, agriculture, horticulture, and products; of the prices of provisions and labour; and of the dresses and conditions of the people;

#### AND ALSO

An account of the laws and customs, civil and religious, and of the morals and demeanour of the inhabitants, in the several States.

By JAMES P. COBBETT.

NEW EDITION.

# EMIGRANT'S GUIDE.

Just published, at my shop, No. 183, Fleet Street, a New Edition of a volume under this title, with a Postscript, price 2s. 6d. in boards, and consisting of ten letters, addressed to English Taxpayers, of which letters, the following are the contents:-

Letter I.—On the Question, Whether it be advisable to emigrate from England at this

Letter II .- On the Descriptions of Persons to whom Emigration would be most beneficial. Letter III .- Ou the Parts of the United States to go to, preceded by Reasons for going to no other Country, and especially not to an English Colony.

Letter IV .- On the Preparations some time

previous to Sailing.

Letter V .- Of the sort of Ship to go in, and of the Steps to be taken relative to the Passage, and the sort of Passage; also of the Stores, and other things, to be taken out with the Emigrant.

Letter VI.-Of the Precautions to be observed while on board of Ship, whether in Cabin

or Steerage.

Letter VII .- Of the first Steps to be taken on Landing.

Letter VIII .- Of the way to proceed to get a Farm, or a Shop, to settle in Business, or to set yourself down as an Independent Gentleman.

Letter IX .- On the means of Educating Children, and of obtaining literary Knowledge. Letter X .- Of such other Matters, a knowledge relating to which must be useful to every one going from England to the United States.

Postscript.-An account of the Prices of Houses and Land, recently obtained from

America by Mr. Cobbett.

It grieves me very much to know it to be my duty to publish this book; but I cannot refrain from doing it, when I see the alarms and hear the cries of thousands of virtuous families that it may save from utter ruin.

A TREATISE on COBBETT'S CORN; containing Instructions for Propagating and Cultivating the Plant, and for Harvesting and Preserving the Crop; and also an account of the several uses to which the Produce is applied, with minute Directions relative to each mode of application. These are all drawn from the actual experience of Mr. Cobbett, on his Farm at Barn Elm, last year (1828). The Book is a neatly-printed Duodecimo. Price 5s. 6d.

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A DVICE TO YOUNG MEN.—This work being now completed, those who want odd Numbers to complete their sets, must get them quickly, for the single Numbers will soon be gone. The work, now freed from the expense of wrappers and the loss and inconvenience attending on a publication in Numbers, will, bound in boards, be sold at 5s.

A FRENCH GRAMMAR; or, Plain Instructions for the Learning of French. The notoriously great sale of this Book is no bad criterion of its worth. The reason of its popularity is its plainness, its simplicity. I have made it as plain as I possibly could I have encountered and overcome the difficulty of giving clear definitions: I have proceeded in such a way as to make the task of learning as little difficult as possible. The price of this book is 5s. in boards.

THE HISTORY OF THE PROTESTANT 
"REFORMATION," showing how that event has impoverished and degraded the main body of the people in those countries; in a series of letters, addressed to all sensible and just Englishmen. This is the Title of the Work, which consists of Two Volumes, the first containing the Series of Letters above described, and the second containing a List of Abbeys, Priories, Nunneries, and other Religious and charitable Endowments, that were seized on and granted away by the Reformers to one another, and to their minions. The List is arranged according to the Counties, alphabetically, and each - piece of property is fully stated, with its then, as well as its actual value; by whom founded and when; by whom granted away, and to whom.—Of this Work there are two Editions, one in Duodecimo, price 4s. 6d. for the first Volume, and 3s. 6d. for the second; and another in Royal Octavo, on handsome paper, with marginal Notes, and a full Index. This latter Edition was printed for Libraries, and there was consequently but a limited number of Copies struck off: the Price 11. 11s. 6d. in Extra Boards.

cottage economy. I wrote this Work professedly for the use of the Labouring and Middling Classes of the English Nation; and I knew that the lively and pleasing manner of the writing would cause it to have many readers, and that thus its substance would get hauded to those who could not read. I made myself acquainted with the best and simplest mode of making Beer and Bread, and these I made it as plain as, I believe, words could make it. It was necessary, further, to treat of the keeping of Cows, Pigs, Bees, and Poultry, matters which I understood as well as any body could, and in all their details; and I think it impossible for any one to read the Book without learning something of utility in the management of a Family. It includes my Writings also on the Straw Plait. A Duodecimo Volume, Price 2s. 6d.

PAPER AGAINST GOLD; or, The HISTORY and MYSTERY of the NATIONAL DEBT, the BANK of England, the Funds, and all the Trickery of Paper-Money. This is a new and neat Edition of my chief Political Work, the Work that was received with scoffings and imprecations by the Pretenders to Statesman-like knowledge only about sixteen years ago, which has been gradually increasing in reputation ever since, and which is now daily pilfered by those who formerly sneered at it. Price 5s.

YEAR'S RESIDENCE IN AMERICA. This Work, and the English Grammar, were the produce of Long Island, and they are particularly dear to me on that account. I wrote this book after I had been there a year, during which I kept an exact journal of the weather. I wrote it with a view of giving true information to all those who wished to be informed respecting that interesting country. I have given an account of its Agriculture, of the face of the Country, of the State of Society, the Manners of the People, and the Laws and Customs. The paper is fine on which this Book is printed, the print good, and the price moderate, viz. 5s.

To be had at No. 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.

#### CHEAP CLOTHING!!

Being, for a whole Suit, only .... 4 10

Petersham Beaver Great Coats .... 2 15
Talma Cloaks of Superfine Cloth ... 3 0
A Suit of Livery ... 4 0

And every other article in the trade proportionably cheap!

Observe that their shop is 93, Fleet-street. I recommend Messrs. Swain and Co. as very good and punctual tradesmen, whom I have long employed with great satisfaction.

WM. COBBETT.

THE "AMERICAN STOVES" from Mt. Cobbett's Model are now ready packed in Baskets, so that no delay in the execution of orders will take place: also, the "LONGITUDINAL CORN-SHELLER" from Mt. Cobbett's Model, price 34, 40s.

COBBETT'S Model, price 31. 40s.

H. S. W. Judson, Ironmonger, Kensington, the only Manufacturer.

Printed by William Cobbett. Johnson's-court; and published by him, at 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.